

Domestic violence in Ghana: Exploring first-hand accounts of incarcerated male perpetrators based in Nsawam prison and views of government officials

by

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DECLARATION

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Domestic violence in Ghana: Exploring first-hand accounts of incarcerated male perpetrators and views of government officials

I declare that this thesis is my work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by employing complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

SIGNATURE:  DATE: NOVEMBER 5, 2020

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty for His Grace, enablement and knowledge to complete this work.

Also, to all the innocent women who have died or survived domestic violence in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa.

ABSTRACT

Although male perpetration of violence against female partners is a global concern, there continues to be insufficient research attention on this phenomenon. The current study aimed at exploring experiences of male perpetrators of violence against their female partners in intimate relationships. The specific objectives were to get an understanding of the reasons and beliefs contributing towards perpetration of domestic violence, explore the barriers that perpetrators encounter with regard to receiving reformatory support, and to suggest possible strategies that can be adopted to reduce or prevent domestic violence. Adopting a qualitative approach, data were obtained through in-depth interviews and participant observations involving 22 convicted male perpetrators in the Nsawam Prisons in the Eastern Region of Ghana, followed by interviews with stakeholders at the offices of the Domestic Violence & Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service. The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to analyse the data. Each transcript went through a thorough analysis to extract themes which were subsequently Synchronised. Overall, the findings from the present study elucidated some theoretical and practical implications. It reveals the following major themes: *perception of inequality between sexes, bride price, childhood experience/witness of abuse, and victim blaming* as contributory factors to the phenomenon of male violence against women.

Keywords: Domestic violence, male-perpetrated violence, intimate partner homicide, intimate partner violence.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 Background to the Study	1
1.3 Problem Statement	12
1.4 Aims	14
1.5 Research questions	14
1.6 The rationale /Relevance of the Study	14
1.7 Overview of the study	17
1.8 The organisation of the thesis	17
CHAPTER TWO	19
REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Previous Empirical Studies.	19
2.3 Masculinities and men's violence against women	21
2.4 Patriarchy and perpetration of violence against women	24
2.5 Childhood exposure to abuse and perpetration of violence against women	27
2.6 Alcohol/drug abuse and the perpetuation of violence against women	29
2.7 Chapter Summary	31
CHAPTER THREE.....	32
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	32
3.1 Introduction.....	32
3.2 Feminist Perspective	32
3.3 Theory of Recognition	33
3.4 Theory of Patriarchy	34
3.5 Social Learning Theories	37
3.5.1 The relevance of the theory of social learning to the study	39
3.6 Applicability of the theories	40
3.7 Chapter Summary	40

CHAPTER FOUR.....	41
METHODOLOGY	41
4.1. Introduction	41
4.2 Study Design	41
4.3 Research Settings.....	41
4.4. Sampling Technique and sample size	42
4.5. Inclusion criteria for male perpetrators.....	42
4.5.1. Exclusion criteria for male perpetrators	43
4.5.2. Inclusion criteria for key informants	43
4.5.3. Exclusion criteria for key informants	43
4.6. Study participants	43
4.7. The demographic information of Key informants	44
4.7.1. The ethnicity of respondents (convicted male perpetrators).....	48
4.7.2. Age Range (convicted male perpetrators)	48
4.7.3. Level of Education (convicted male perpetrators)	48
4.8. Data Collection	48
4.9. Procedure for data collection.....	49
4.10. Key Informant in-depth interview results	49
4.11. Pilot study.....	50
4.12. Interviews	50
4.13. Reliability and Validity of Interview Data	51
4.14. Data Analysis.....	53
4.14.1. Research Design and Justification	53
4.15. Ethical Considerations	54
4.16. Personal reflexivity	55
4.17. Summary of Chapter four.....	56
CHAPTER FIVE	58
RESULTS	58
5.1 Introduction	58
5.2 Theme 1: Differences in perceived gender role ideology	59
5.3 Theme 2: Bride Price	66
5.4 Theme 3: Childhood experience/witness of abuse	70
5.5 Theme 4: “She became very disrespectful”: victim blaming	72
5.6 Theme 5: Perpetrators’ abuse of Substance	74
5. 7 Theme 6: Bureaucracy as a barrier to receiving government support	75

5.8 Theme 7: The importance of education and holding perpetrators accountable	76
5.9 Theme 8: Being accountable for your actions	77
5.10. Findings from interviews with Key informants.....	78
5.10.1. Theme 1: Taking a stand: women breaking the silence.....	78
5.10.2. Theme 2: Whose fault is it?	80
5.10.3. Theme 3: Possibilities and complexities of curbing gender abuse.....	82
5.11. Summary of findings.....	84
CHAPTER SIX.....	86
DISCUSSION	86
6.1. Introduction	86
6.2 Normalisation of gender-based violence.....	87
6.3. When tradition tramples on women and children’s rights	90
6.4 Abusing substances and blaming the victim	92
6.5 Taking action to curb gender violence.....	93
6.6 Chapter Summary	94
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	95
SUMMARY, POLICY RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION	95
7.1 Introduction	95
7.2 Educational implications	95
7.3 Challenging patriarchy.....	97
7.4 Implications and contributions of the study	97
7.5 Recommendation for Future Research.....	99
7.6 The Role of the Judicial system.....	99
7.7 Limitations of the Study.....	100
7.8 Conclusion.....	101
References.	102
Appendix A.....	127
Appendix B.....	129

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS	45
TABLE 2 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF KEY INFORMANTS	47
TABLE 3 THEMES FOR PARTICIPANTS	58

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Extracts of media reports

“Our business is complicated because intimacy plays a mammoth role in our profession; as actors, we are paid to do very intimate things in public. That's why someone can have the audacity to invite you to their home or hotel and you show up. Precisely because of this we must stay vigilant and ensure that professional intimacy is not abused. I hope we are in a pivotal moment where a sisterhood and brotherhood of allies is being formed in our industry. I hope we can form a community where a woman can speak up about abuse and not suffer another abuse by not being believed and instead of being ridiculed.” (Lupita Nyong'o, 2017, “The New York Times”).

***"Fiancé butchers mother of six":** The Police is on a manhunt for a man who allegedly lured his fiancée to a farm and butchered her [...] before fleeing the community. Reports have it that, around 2 pm on Saturday, July 29, Kojo and his fiancée, Serwa, went to their farm to harvest foodstuff, leaving behind Koby, their seven-year-old son. Kojo, however, was said to have returned from after two hours without Serwa. When the little boy naively enquired about the whereabouts of his mother, Kojo retorted that she would soon follow.*

***"Murderer" of the mother of six arrested":** Kojo, who went into hiding after allegedly butchering a 41-year-old mother [...] has been arrested. The woes of Kojo have further deepened as another case of attempted murder against him following his arrest. (August 11-17, 2017, “The Mirror”).*

1.2 Background to the Study

I open this chapter with the above excerpts of media reports to highlight the seriousness of violence against women, in both public and private spaces. Some studies have looked at male perpetrators of abuse against women, while ample evidence abounds that male perpetration of violence ranges from 5% to 80% (Samuels et al, 2017). This current study intends to explore

the lived experiences, reasons and beliefs of male perpetrators that contribute towards the perpetration of violence against women and to suggest possible strategies that can be adopted to reduce or prevent violence against women in Ghana. Also, I am interested in the role played by the justice system in responding to challenges related to violence against women.

In Ghana, women are key role players in the family (Chao, 1999). Therefore, acts of violence that inflict physical and /or psychological pain on them may undermine family welfare. Thus, there should be an attempt to study the root causes of violence against women and draw preventive measures to end or reduce recidivism. One of the ways to achieve this is by paying particular attention to the perpetrators of domestic violence – who are often men. A recent report by the United Nations (UN, 2018) observes that most homes, globally, are not safe for women (and girls). According to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2013), one in three women (35%) has ever suffered physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner or male partner. Violence against women occurs in many forms (physical, psychological, and sexual) and in various settings. It can occur at home, in the workplace or within the community at large. In many societies, it is often informed and legitimised by gender-based values and patriarchal norms that discriminate against women and sanction the use of violence against them. Thus, it is also referred to as gender-based violence against women (WHO 2005).

Violence against women is a major global problem, a notion echoed in the UN (1993, pp 1-2) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW). The declaration defined sexual and gender-based violence as “violence committed by men against women and girls”. DEVAW stated three settings where sexual abuse and violence against women occur: in the family (including marital rape, sexual abuse, female genital mutilation and dowry-related violence); in the community (including rape, sexual harassment and sex trafficking; and by the

State (all forms of violence that are condoned or perpetrated by state actors (UN, 1993). Feminist scholars perceive violence against women to be fundamentally different from violence against men (Africa, 2010; Haraway, 1988; Yodanis, 2004). In parallel with these definitions, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPA) defines “violence against women as physical, sexual and psychological violence that occurs in the family, including marital rape” (BDPA, 1995, pp. 4-15). According to Hunnicut (2009), sexuality and

masculinities studies suggest that domestic violence takes place against women, against some men and children.

Ample evidence suggests that domestic violence is the control by one partner over another in dating, married or live-in relationship. The American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2005), Abramsky et al. (2012), Ellsberg et al. (2008), Garcia-Moreno et al. (2006), and USAID (2006) define domestic violence as abuse by one person against another in an intimate relationship including marriage, cohabitation, dating or relations within the family and is the most common form of gender-based violence in the world. Studies have reported that at least one in seven homicides and over one-third of all female homicides worldwide are perpetrated by an intimate partner (García-Moreno et al. 2013). According to Garcia-Moreno et al. (2005), about 75% of women worldwide experience emotionally abusive acts and controlling behaviour from their partners.

Across Africa, the variations of violence against women include witchcraft accusations and witch-burning (Adinkrah, 2004; Daly, 1978), female genital mutilation (Ako & Akweongo, 2009; Dorkenoo., 1994; Finke, 2006), widow immolation and femicide (Adinkrah, 2001; Pinnewala, 2009), among others. Danga (2008) asserts that cultural practices such as "lobola" (dowry) in South Africa are partly responsible for men's violence against women. Furthermore, statistics indicates that one in every six women is murdered by a male partner in Gauteng (Macdoughall, 2000). Owino (2009) explained that perception of God – how we have imagined God as "male" – has influenced the male paradigm of domination among partners. As such, this has probably influenced and contributed to domestic violence, abuse and oppression of women in the evangelical context in South Africa.

Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence

Recent statistics by the United Nations (UN, 2018) indicates that 87,000 women were murdered the previous year, and more than half of 50,000 (58%) were killed by intimate partners or family members. Also, more than a third of 30,000 of those murdered globally in 2018 were murdered by a current or former intimate partner. It means in each hour, about six women are murdered by someone they know. Consistent data across several international and national studies indicate that between 1% and 21% of women were victims of sexual abuse before age

15 and that the perpetrators were male family members – e.g. brothers, uncles, nephews (Jewkes, & Levin, 2002; WHO, 2005). According to the WHO (2013) every one in five women in the world has been physically or sexually abused by a man sometime in her life; one in three women has a lifetime incidence of abuse, globally (WHO, 2005).

About a third (30%) of women who have been in an intimate relationship have suffered physical and/or sexual violence by their male partner. Reports demonstrate that prevalence rate of violence against women is 23.2% in high-income countries and 24% in the WHO Western Pacific Region, 37% in the WHO Eastern Mediterranean region and 37.7% in WHO South-East Asia Region (WHO, 2013). The global report shows that as many as 38% of all murders of women are committed by intimate partners. Also, globally, 7% of women report having been sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner (WHO, 2013). Comparing data by the WHO on violence against women in the year 1998 and 2013, it can be observed that violence against women is on the rise.

Randle and Graham (2011) found that the impact of partner violence against male victims is underreported due to social stigma associated with masculinity, although men suffer similar and just as severe physical injury and negative psychological effects as women. Nonetheless, considerable evidence suggests that women are at a higher risk of being abused by male partners than men (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). Similarly, Hester (2009) found that men were more likely to be repeat perpetrators and that most men had at least two incidents recorded as against only one incident recorded for female perpetrators.

Evidence for this trend is provided by recent studies that intimate partner violence plays a major role in the lives of many women. In most African countries, there is growing scientific evidence demonstrating that violence against women is a social issue worthy of research attention. In Egypt, it is estimated that one in three Egyptian married women has been beaten at least once since marriage (Bacchus et al., 2018; Winter & Barchi, 2016). Also, a little above 50% suffered physical abuse in the hands of their male partners over period of 12 months (Haj-Yahia, 2000a). According to the WHO (2010), 71% of women in Ethiopia reported physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime and 17% of women in rural Tanzania had forced sexual experience. A similar trend occurs in Nigeria where the level of violence against women is in a range of a third and two-thirds of females reported to be subjected to physical, sexual and psychological violence by husbands, partners and fathers (Oluremi, 2015). Also, underage

girls are often forced into early marriage and are at risk of punishment if they attempt to escape from their husbands (Afro News, 2007). The participants of the Kopanong declaration conference (2007) reported that after ten years of the constitution coming into force, and despite the ratification of several international human rights instruments, the rights of people who suffer gender violence are still daily violated.

Violence in both sexes

According to Follingstad et al. (2002), anxious attachment and angry temperament predicted dating violence in both sexes. A related study by Johnson (2006) argues that there are four types of individual partner violence. These are intimate terrorism, violent resistance, mutual violent control and situational couple violence and are defined conceptually in terms of the control motives of the violent member of the couple. Motives are identified operationally by patterns of controlling behaviour that indicate an attempt to exercise general control over one's partner. Intimate terrorism is where one individual in the relationship is violent and controlling.

Violent resistance is the opposite of intimate terrorism where an individual is violent but not controlling. In this case, the partner is rather violent and controlling. Johnson (2006) argued that intimate terrorism is perpetrated almost exclusively by men in heterosexual relationships whilst women in heterosexual relationships perpetrate violent resistance. The third is situational couple violence which has neither couple to be violent. Thus, naturally, none of the couples is violent but since human beings are social animals and our behaviours are usually triggered by our response to social issues, one of the couple may demonstrate a violent behaviour in response to their feelings about a social issue they are dissatisfied about at a particular time. This indicates that both males and females can be perpetrators as well as victims of intimate partner violence in any given context. An argument similar to this reveals that while men predominate in inflicting injuries and using coercive tactics on women, both men and women are perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence (Archer 2000; Felson & Cares 2005; Lauritsen & Heimer 2008; Straus et al., 1981; Tjaden & Thoennes 1998).

The current study adopts the term "domestic violence" as formally used in the Domestic Violence Act 2007 of Ghana but focuses on violence against women. In 2007, a law was

passed criminalising domestic violence in Ghana. The Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (Act 732) is an Act that seeks to protect persons in Ghana from domestic violence, particularly, women and children. The Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service gives a broad definition of acts of violence committed against women such as rape, defilement, assault, battering, threatening and causing harm. Outlaws: physical, sexual, emotional abuse or intimidation within the context of a relationship (Domestic Violence Act, 2007)

Prevalence Estimates of Domestic Violence in Ghana

In Ghana, statistical evidence indicates that one in three women has experienced violence at the hand of an intimate partner (Appiah & Cusack, 1999). Annual reports from the office of the DOVVSU revealed that in 2008 a total of 4463 cases of domestic violence were recorded. Out of this number, 1,920 were assault cases and 538 were cases of threats. The year 2009 recorded 5709 cases of domestic violence and 2,458 were cases of assault and cases of threats were 673. This trend runs through the subsequent years and in 2014, DOVVSU recorded 5,212 cases of wife battering and assault and 1667 cases of threats (DOVVSU, 2014). DOVVSU further highlights that in 2016, about 10,460 women were abused as against 1,830 abused men. Also, in 2017, 12,103 women were abused as against 2,599 men. According to The UN Women's report for 2011, over 40% of Ghanaians think it is justifiable for a man to beat his wife (UN, 2011). Evidence is presented that one in six women and one in 33 men have experienced an attempted or completed rape, National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV, 2011). There are many factors such as self-blame, embarrassment, fear, media exposure and fear of a legal system that often put the victim's behaviour and history on trial which prevents victims of rape or sexual assault to report to the appropriate agencies.

Forms of abuse

The relevance of defining abuse categorically in the study is to avoid the narrow understanding of the term as behaviours and injuries that are physical and to give a broad understanding of the term abuse, which moves beyond just the physical. The perpetrator of abuse could be male or female who uses any means within his or her power to control the victim's behaviour. Below I shall offer definitions of the various forms of abuse. While there might be varying definitions

from many scholars, the ones below are chosen for this current study, as they have been posited based on evidence from Ghana.

Physical abuse

Physical abuse includes acts such as assault, beating, starvation, and other forms of bodily harm (Appiah & Cusack, 1999).

Socio-economic abuse

Socio-economic abuse is described as actions such as lack of maintenance and financial neglect of family (Appiah & Cusack, 1999).

Psychological abuse

Psychological abuse is described as acts of threats, insult, shouting, and humiliation, refusing to accept paternity, neglecting and ignoring wife and children, refusing to eat meals (Appiah & Cusack, 1999).

Sexual abuse

Sexual abuse is described as rape, forced sex, defilement or indecent assault (Appiah & Cusack, 1999).

Cultural Practices Abusive to Women

Women not being allowed to eat chicken, mangoes or eggs when pregnant or not allowed to eat proper foods for one or two days after giving birth. They prevent her from eating properly by claiming a child will turn into a thief if she eats well (Bortei-Doku, Aryeetey, & Kuenyehia, 1998, p. 272 - 299).

The excerpt above (from Ghana) points to how some cultural practices play a role in informing and perpetuating some of the behaviours that may be deemed as oppressive to women. Culture is the way of life of a people (Myers, 1987). It is made up of patterns; explicit and implicit behaviours are acquired and transmitted by symbols, consisting of the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in an artefact (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). The culture of a people is determined by the environment, the society, heritage and time (National Commission for Civic Education, NCCE, 2004).

A study by Appiah and Cusack (1999) indicated that women experienced traditional practices or elements of traditional practices as a form of psychological violence because they deemed these practices as degrading, humiliating and invasive. The women further perceived these practices as means used to devalue them. Most women noted elements of rites that reinforced men's power over them or strong cultural attitudes that indicated an inferior status of the woman or child. Also, widow rites and demonstrative behaviours indicating mourning are considered elements of traditional practices. Aryeetey and Kuenyehia (1999) explain that widows are expected to undergo widowhood rites as an expression of mourning. The rites which vary among different ethnic groups could involve seclusion, dress codes, prayers/libation and symbolic gestures directed at the corpse. Several elements of these rites such as unrealistic expressions of loss, food rationing, and 'punitive' bathing in cold water, lengthy abstentions from sex, ranging from six months to two years, restricted movement including orders to not work coupled with neglect from extended family were perceived as abuse. There can also be conflict over inheritance of the property of the dead spouse. According to Bortei-Doku, Aryeetey and Kuenyehia (1999, p. 282):

It can be considered as holy war when husbands die, and the family of the man wants to take over the wealth and property of the man. The widow is considered not a member of the family and as such, she should not have a share.

Gendered cultural practices

Many societies in Ghana have prescribed gendered cultural practices deemed helpful to women but also promote and support violence against women directly or indirectly. For example, widow inheritance, a practice by which a widow is deemed to be the sexual partner or wife of a brother or male relative of her deceased husband. When the husband of a woman dies, a husband is found for her from the immediate kin of the deceased husband. The new husband 'takes over' the woman to perform the responsibilities of a husband. This practice is adopted as a social control measure for the continuity of the family, also to indicate that the death of a husband does not terminate a marriage. Although the practice is supposed to alleviate the burdens of the widow, it may not necessarily be so, as it may rather hurt her, because firstly, the practice does not consider the financial capability of the next of kin to adequately cater for the widow and her children, but rather the position of the next of kin in the family. Secondly, the practice does not take into consideration the concerns of the widow, as to whether she likes

the next of kin or to remarry outside the husband's family. It is imposed on her, thus violating her right to choose and thereby objectifying the woman (Sossou, 2002).

“Trokosi” is a traditional system practiced in Ghana and neighbouring Benin and Togo. It is rooted in the beliefs and identity of the Ewe people of Ghana. “Trokosi” is an aspect of the traditional religions and crime control practices of the Dangme, Ewe, and, Fon ethnic groups in Ghana, Togo, and Benin along the West African Coast (Ameh, 2017). The practice is done by selecting a female virgin child from a family in atonement for crimes committed by other members of their family. Such a child becomes known as a trokosi, an Ewe word meaning “slaves to the gods” (Ameh, 2001, pp. 271-272). As a Trokosi, the girls are identified with the shrine and therefore lose their identity and are cut off from their families. These girls go through a ritual where they are made to change into wearing simple clothing that signify their status as Trokosi. They become concubines of the traditional priests of the shrine. They bear children for the traditional priest and are left to cater for the babies alone with no (financial) support from the priests (who are the biological fathers) of their babies. Should the traditional priests die, the Trokosi girl becomes the property of the shrine and therefore the successor to deceased priest takes over the girl (Nukunya, 2016).

Also, the practice of the sororate which is remarriage of the deceased woman's sister or relative without the bride price presented on behalf of the new girl. In some instances, a relative may be brought in the marriage just to bear children for the man, if the man's first wife is unable to bear children or she is infertile. I ask rhetorically, is this woman perceived as a whole human being with morals or just a sex object for reproduction? In other instances, the relative may come in the marriage and care for her children and those of the widow. In other instances, the woman is used as a means of maintaining the wealth of the family, thereby objectifying the widow or the woman. As a researcher, I look at these gendered cultural practices that implicitly dehumanise and objectify women and which can lead to violence against women. Indeed, objectification of women leads to violence against them.

Rudman & Mescher (2012) note “that men who associate women more with animalistic than human terms, and men who associate women with tools and objects, both of which are related to objectification demonstrated greater willingness to sexually harass or assault women” (2012, pp 735-746). There is no doubt, in every society, there are cultural and social norms that are established as standards of behaviour and attitudes accepted and expected of members of that

particular group, or community to conform to have a society. Cultural practices are observed as a social control measure to hold society in check.

Nevertheless, culture and social norms must be established to promote cohesion and mutual respect between all genders of society. In other words, cultural and social norms must interface properly with intellectuality to maintain their relevance in today's society. I mention a few of these gendered cultural practices in the study, to demonstrate that the practices of these cultural and traditions norms objectify women and lead to both sexual and physical abuse or violence against women. A practical example is the female genital mutilation (FGM), an act of cutting of the clitoris and parts of the female genitalia. Evidence suggests that family violence encompasses female genital mutilation (Krug et al. 2002; Guy et al. 2014). This is a common cultural activity among many African countries. In Ghana, it is practiced widely in the Northern parts, both in the Upper East and Upper West regions. It is deemed as a significant activity because it symbolises the transition from childhood to adulthood. It is performed to restrain female sexuality and to demonstrate the courage of the female who is being circumcised. Furthermore, it is done to enhance the female's aesthetic appeal and hygiene. However, FGM endangers the life of the female. It brings about complications during and after childbirth. According to WHO (2020), "Female Genital Mutilation is associated with an increased risk of caesarean section, postpartum hemorrhage, recourse to episiotomy, difficult labor, obstetric tears/lacerations, instrumental delivery, prolonged labor, and extended maternal hospital stay" (pp. 25). It further indicates that the risks increase with the severity of FGM.

Drawing extensively on these practices, Appiah and Cusack (1999) presented the argument that violence against women can manifest in many forms and contexts, that is the sexual, physical, emotional psychological, pseudo-religious and socio-cultural. Cultural norms and practices influence the thoughts and actions of individuals and shape their behaviour. As we grow, we witness and learn certain beliefs and traditions that are shared and influenced by others, for example, cultural traditions and norms that promote male dominance over women and children can shape our behaviour of violence. Considerable evidence suggests that, although norms can protect against violence, they can also support and encourage the use of it. For example, cultural acceptance of violence, either as a normal method of resolving conflict or as a usual part of rearing a child is a risk factor for all forms of interpersonal violence (WHO, 2009). Below, I discuss the challenges associated with domestic violence.

Effects of Domestic Violence on Women and Girls

It affects some women mental and behavioural health and has a long-lasting damaging effects even after the violence has ceased (WHO, 2012). Some women experience poor health status, including chronic pain syndrome, death including femicide and HIV/AIDS-related deaths. Reports indicate that the consequences of violence tend to be more severe when women experience more than one type of violence (e.g. physical and sexual) and/or multiple incidents over time (WHO, 2012).

Ripple effects of mothers' abuse on their children

Families are burdened with the direct cost of violence against women and girls. Children are also deeply affected by violence against their mother, including missing school, which produces reduced capabilities in the long term, as well as the potential for families to lose the return on their investment in children's education (Institute of Statistical Social and Economic Research – ISSER, 2019). There are profound and far-reaching negative consequences of intimate partner violence against women. Violence negatively impact on women's overall health, which could be fatal in certain aspects.

Femicide

Femicide is generally understood to involve intentional murder of women because they are women, but broader definitions include any killings of women or girls (WHO, 2012).

According to WHO (2012), women are most likely to be murdered by someone close to them. Male intimate partners commit between 30%-70% of all murders of women in countries such as Israel, South Africa and the USA. This also occurs in some parts of the Middle East and South Asia, where women are sometimes killed by close family members in the name of "honour" for (perceived) sexual transgression, while in other settings, for example, India, newly married women are sometimes killed by members of their husband's family because of conflicts related to dowry. There is ample evidence to suggest that extended periods of abuse often culminate in death (Campbell et al., 2003; Daly & Wilson, 1988; McFarlane et al., 1999;). In Ghana, Adinkrah (2008) notes that physical violence that culminates in the death of a wife

or partner is part of a chronic pattern of abuse that has characterized the couple's relationship for many months or even years.

There is increasing empirical support that some men in heterosexual relationships use violence and abusive behaviours to control and dominate women. Odemegwu and Okemgbo (2003) conducted a community-based survey in rural Nigeria. The findings indicated that attitudes about violence against women are mostly influenced by male-dominance ideology. Additional findings suggested that irrespective of their place of residence, some women subscribed to gender role male authority. According to Farred (2002), violence against women in post-apartheid South-Africa is a common occurrence and describes it as mundane. It is such an everyday occurrence which drives many women into a state of helplessness, that they are unable to resist or oppose it, with its destructive consequence. Reports indicate that there is widespread male coercion and violence within sexual relationships in Cape Town, South Africa (Wood & Jewkes, 1997).

Furthermore, considerable evidence suggests that there is widespread violence against women in Zimbabwe (Watts et al., 1997). Gondolf (2002, p. 9) observes that male violence is seen "as an expression of the power and control that men exert over women in the society", as more than 90% of domestic violence acts are committed by men (Scamber et al., 2013). Most partners arrested for domestic violence are men who have assaulted women. Domestic violence accounts for 25% of all violent crimes in the UK (Mirlrees-Black et al., 1998). Most women are injured and killed in domestic violence; averagely two are reported killed every week by their current or former partner (Mirlrees-Black et al., 1998). Similarly, Cameron and Frazer (1987) report on the pervasive nature of the phenomenon in Western societies. In one study, Hester (2009), reported that most men had at least two assault incidents recorded as against women reported as perpetrators had only one incident recorded. It is argued that such is the pattern observed to be typical in police records across many areas of England and reflects the greater impact on women of such abuse (Hester & West Marland, 2005; Westmarland & Hester, 2007).

1.3 Problem Statement

The available literature has copiously explored the experiences of the targets of domestic violence – who are mostly females. Yet knowledge of who the perpetrators are, and their

experiences is less researched. Against this backdrop, the current study sought to explore the lived experiences of incarcerated male perpetrators of domestic violence and government officials' perceptions.

A scholarly review of 50 population-based surveys from 36 countries indicated that at least 10% of women in every country studied reported being physically harmed by an intimate partner at some point in their lives (Heise et al., 1999). Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) reported that about 1.3 million women in the United States are physically assaulted annually by an intimate partner, and in Europe, one in four women experience domestic violence over their lifetime. Between 6% and 10% of women a year report being physically abused by their partner (Council of Europe, 2002). In the UK, domestic violence accounts for 25% of all violent crimes (Mirlrees-Black et al 1998).

Most women are harmed and murdered in domestic violence; averagely two are reportedly killed weekly by their male partner in the UK (Mirlrees-Black et al, 1998). The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV, 2007) in the US states that between 35% and 50% of victims of intimate partner violence are harassed at work by their abuser, also between a quarter and half report losing their jobs because of domestic violence. Other researches demonstrate that domestic violence leads to maternal and infant mortality due to poor nutrition, low birth weight (LBW), and inadequate nursing (Asling-Monemi et al., 2003; Bullock & MaFarlane, 1989; Emenike et al., 2008; Perales et al., 2009; Silverman et al., 2009).

In Ghana, a study by Amoakohene (2004) found that violence against women results in constant bouts of fear, depression, low self-esteem, stress and trauma. Considerable evidence suggests that about 33% of women have a history of physical partner abuse and about the same proportion have suffered sexual abuse (Appiah & Cusack, 1999). Data from the Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) stated that 58% of married women have suffered physical violence and 42.8% have suffered sexual violence respectively by a current or former husband/partner (Ghana Statistical Survey, 2009). Indeed, from the preceding statistics, it is evident that violence against women is of great concern to women, families and society at large. Thus, attention should be paid to reasons why violence against women is such a challenge and engaging ways in which this problem could be prevented. One of the ways to achieve this is by paying particular attention to the perpetrators of domestic violence who are often men

(WHO, 2017). This study is a commitment in that direction. Considering this background, the study aimed at contributing to the literature by seeking to address the following specific aims and objectives:

1.4 Aims

- To get an understanding of the reasons and beliefs contributing towards perpetration of domestic violence against women.
- To explore the barriers that perpetrators encounter concerning receiving support.
- To suggest possible strategies that can be adopted to reduce or curb domestic violence against women.

To reach these objectives, the following research questions guided the study.

1.5 Research questions

- What reasons and beliefs do perpetrators report as contributing towards perpetration of domestic violence?
- What barriers do perpetrators encounter when it comes to receiving support?
- What possible strategies do participants suggest could be adopted to reduce or prevent domestic violence in Ghana?

1.6 The rationale /Relevance of the Study

This study is significant and timely because of its implications for policy recommendation and decision taking in addressing the issues of violence against women. Violence against women has become a global public health issue, as such most studies conducted in Africa, in general, and Ghana, in particular, have looked at causes of domestic violence and focused specifically on female victims with the exclusion of male perpetrators of the abuse. Chireshe (2012) conducted a study among Zimbabwean Christian and Muslim women who have experienced intimate partner violence intending to find out the extent to which these women used provisions of the domestic violence Act of 2006. Findings revealed that violence against women has diverse causes and religion is seen as crucial in addressing the problem. In Ghana, some studies have examined the relationship between domestic violence and psychological disorders (e.g., Adomako, 2010). Other scholarships looked at women's perceptions and review of policy and social responses (Amoakohene, 2004). However, few scholars have done works on male

perpetrators. For example, Issahaku (2012) looked at correlates of male partner violence in the Northern part of Ghana, also in a related study by Adinkra (2008), through the analysis of Ghanaian daily newspaper contents, noted that husbands were five times more likely to kill their wives out of jealousy and suspicion of infidelity. Even then, their studies do not interview in person the male perpetrators of abuse. The effect of this limited attention on male perpetrators, particularly in Ghana is that little is known about male perpetrators and their motivation for abuse. A study of this nature is therefore relevant in shedding more light on the motivation of male perpetrators to abuse. The current study would provide information on why male perpetrators abuse their female partners; design a specific intervention to target male partners of intimate partner violence and provide evidence-based information to assist in preventing violence against women.

The issue of violence against women is on the increase (Coker-Appiah & Cusak, 1999 DOVVSU, 2011). In a related study Adinkrah, (2008a, 2008b, 2014) examined spousal killing cases among Ghanaian couples, findings show that Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) can sometimes lead to fatalities in the society. These scholarships provide evidence that violence against women is a critical public health issue which demands apt attention and intervention. Therefore, a study of this nature would assist in offering appropriate and useful recommendations to put structures in place to curb the incidence of violence against women and help and educate perpetrators. Relevant government officials would be educated on the best approach to deal with intimate partner violence in their various Units.

The study contributes to the existing knowledge in the field of violence against women in several ways because the findings add to the limited existing literature on male perpetrators of violence; thereby bridging the gap on issues of violence against women. The study provides insights into how proper legal frameworks regarding male perpetrators of violence against women bring to an end the issue of violence against women. The study is also in line with the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which aims to ensure that there are gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls by 2030. According to the United Nations (2016), women and girls everywhere, must have equal rights and opportunity, and be able to live free of violence and discrimination. Providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in the political and economic

decision-making process to fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large.

For the last three decades many studies, both nationally and internationally, have been conducted to determine how this cancer can be brought to its barest minimum or be eradicated. Some studies focused on victims and behaviour of victims (Dunn, 2005; Davis, 2000; Kim & Gray, 2008). Others looked at male perpetrators of violence against women (Devaney, 2014; Romaro-Martinez et al., 2013). Also, other studies focused on the effectiveness of programs for male perpetrators (Wojnicka., 2015).

In Ghana, there is a paucity of formal scholarship on male perpetrators. Otoo (2014), adopting a quantitative design, looked at the likelihood of an individual becoming a perpetrator of violence against women. Issahaku (2012) conducted a study by adopting a quantitative method to determine the scope of male partner violence (MPV) in the Northern Region of Ghana. Others looked at the link between domestic violence and psychological disorders among women in the Greater Accra Region (Adomako, 2010). Appiah, & Cusack (1999), looked at breaking the silence and challenging the myths of violence against women and children. There are many studies done on victims of domestic violence (Adayfio-Schandorf, 2006; Amoakohene, 2004; Appaih & Cusack, 1999; Mann & Takyi, 2009; Ofei Aboagy, 1994). From the preceding exposition, it can be concluded that many studies have focused on accounts of female victims which is rightly so. Therefore, this study explains how equally important it is to study men as perpetrators of violence from their perspective.

Secondly, the study from an academic and methodological angle serves as a foundation for further study into this rather sensitive social topic. It will create awareness and understanding of perpetrator behaviour in domestic violence. Thirdly, articulating the factors and motives that influence male perpetrator behaviour will shed some light on the culture and some ideologies that influence violence against women in Ghana. Finally, findings will be useful in directing the focus of policymakers and lawmakers to male perpetrators and ensuring that structures are put in place to prevent harm to potential victims and to change 'faulty' mindsets of male perpetrators.

1.7 Overview of the study

Violence against women by a male intimate partner is an enormous social problem. It is one of the most pervasive of human right violations, denying women equality, dignity and self-worth and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms. For this study, the term "Domestic violence" will be used interchangeably with the terms "intimate partner abuse", "intimate partner violence". or "violence against women". The pivot of the study is an analysis of individual interviews with male perpetrators who had been convicted of perpetrating abuse against their female partners and who are presently incarcerated in the Nsawam Medium-Security Prison facility in the Eastern Region of Ghana. This study has attempted to explore the reasons and beliefs that lead perpetrators to commit acts of violence against their female partners and to shed light on how the perception of inequality between sexes accounts for the perpetration of abuse against women by male partners.

1.8 The organisation of the thesis

This study is organised around seven chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter and contains the study background, statement of the problem, research questions, the rationale of the study and the objectives

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the review of relevant literature and related studies focusing on male perpetration of violence against women, and commonly reported reasons for perpetrating the violence. Also, chapter 3 is the theoretical framework of the study. The theoretical framework provides relevant theories underpinning the study.

In chapter 4 the reader is introduced to a detailed description of the study's methodology, which includes the research design and justification, research settings, target population, inclusion and exclusion criteria, sample size and sampling technique of the study. It also presents the methods of data collection: how data were collected, data analysis and ways in which methodological rigor was ensured.

Chapter five presents the results of the data analysis. It describes the socio-demographic and characteristics of the respondents; the chapter also presents the main themes which emerged during the analysis with sub-themes and sample quotes from the respondents.

Chapter 6 discusses and interprets the findings of the study, and in chapter 7 the sununary of the key fmdings of the study, reconunendations and conclusion are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a critical review of the literature and discuss the relevant theories adopted in the study. The literature review focuses on existing related studies, their findings, shortcoming and ways in which the current study aims to fill the gaps and add to already existing body of knowledge. The chapter aims to explore the literature on male violence against women in both national and international contexts; it also attempts to explain the reasons why male perpetrators perpetrate violence against their female partners which often leads to death of the female partners.

To address the existing research gaps, this current study aims to explore why men inflict (lethal) violence on their female partners and to recommend an avenue to guide new studies on violence against women and to respond to this social and public health problem more effectively. Thus, in the current study, I explored the lived experiences of incarcerated male perpetrators of domestic violence and government officials' perceptions about the phenomenon.

2.2 Previous Empirical Studies.

Violence against women by male partners is a human right concern and a critical social and public health problem that is associated with physical, reproductive and mental health consequences. Some studies have demonstrated consistent risk factors for IPV perpetration. Major risk indicators of IPV perpetration by men include beliefs and attitudes of men, childhood experience of violence (physical or sexual abuse as a child) or exposure to violence (e.g. witnessing the abuse of mother at the hands of father or boyfriend). Furthermore, having permissive attitudes towards violence against women (VAW) can be a risk indicator.

Additionally, other empirical studies have looked at varied risk and contributing factors that relate to men's violence towards women. For example, some studies indicate an association between childhood experience of exposure to abuse and violent behaviour towards an intimate partner in adulthood (e.g., Neller et al., 2005). Similarly, other studies have given various explanations for the occurrence of violence against women, including the understanding that

violence is a behaviour learned during childhood (Ehrensaft et al., 2003; Gover et al., 2008; Straus et al., 1980). Children who have been exposed to violence suffer some form of trauma, which could affect their emotional regulation and the control of impulses and anger in adulthood (Neller et al., 2005), or even earlier, during adolescence (O'Keeffe et al., 1986).

According to Dodge and colleagues (1990), children who have been victims of violence view the world in a distorted way, and they misinterpret social cues accordingly. This distorted thinking causes them to conclude that others have hostile motives against them and react to this belief with anger, hostility and violence. Ample evidence abounds that abused children experience a less secure attachment process, have trust issues with others and feel rejected and abandoned, as such they do anything not to feel abandoned. They also exhibit less empathy for the suffering and feelings of others (Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994).

Other studies have predominantly focused on women and girl victims with some statistics indicating that between 40% - 70% of all female homicides are perpetrated by a male intimate partner (Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002). Consistent data across all studies in every national context indicates that women and girls are more likely to be killed by male partners than any other class of people (e.g., Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Also, women and girls are more likely to be abused than men and boys due to violence from an ex-partner or a current partner. Empirical results from the global study are the far greater prevalence of sexual violence against women and girls from intimate male partners (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Numerous studies still focus on female victims of abuse as ample evidence abounds that a great number of female victims seek care in emergency department for injuries due to violence from a male partner (Biroscak et al., 2006; Schafer et al., 2008). Furthermore, a review published by Ellsberg et al. (2015) focused on prevention of violence against women and girls and evidence for interventions to reduce the prevalence and incidence of violence against women and girls.

Other studies explain that it is the result of personality disorders (Dutton, 2006) or that it is due to the influence of alcohol and other substances (Foran & O'Leary, 2008). Garcia et al (2007) came to a similar conclusion that men who were under the influence of alcohol were more likely to be violent towards their partners. Research indicates that jealousy, female partner's refusal to have sex and infidelity of the partner are motives for some men to abuse or kill their

partners, but the most common motive for male perpetrators is separation (Campbell et al., 2007; Garcia et al., 2007; Kivisto, 2015).

The narratives for violence against women must shift. Focusing on programmes for prevention and intervention for female victims provide little information about the reason some male perpetrators report for perpetrating violence against their female partners. To make any meaningful progress and have effective strategic intervention towards the reduction of this common and impactful form of violence, we need to recognise the clear and consistent statistics for IPV being both examined and addressed as a gender-based problem.

In Ghana, there is a paucity of literature on male perpetrators of domestic violence. Earlier studies have focused on the prevalence and victims of abuse (Aboagye, 1994; Adayfio-Shandorf & Sam; Amoakohene, 2004; 2006; Ofei- Appiah & Cusack 1999; Mann & Takyi, 2009). The Ghana Gender Centre (1999) undertook a study which outlined behaviours and injuries such as physical, psychological, socio-economic, sexual and traditional practices as violence against women. Thereafter, there have been growing research studies on the phenomenon of violence against women. Amoakohene (2004) used open-ended qualitative questions to examine violence against women, also examined policy responses, and reviewed existing provisions in the country's constitution and made suggestions for addressing the problem of violence against women. All these studies focus on female victims more than male perpetrators, and have made it a women's problem and not an issue that is central to men, which presupposes that little is known about male perpetrators, therefore there is no holistic intervention strategy to curb the violence by male partners.

While research focused on female victims can be helpful, potentially studies focused on understanding why some male partners use violence against their female partners can be informative for the planning and designing of targeted intervention and prevention programs.

2. 3 Masculinities and men's violence against women

Ratele (2016) argues that researching discourses on gender-based violence without engaging sufficiently with the subjective locatedness, realities and experiences of men is likely to yield an incomplete account. According to Ratele (2016), African researchers need to look at a range of contextual realities of men in relations to men's constructs, meaning-making and

negotiations of masculinities carefully. Bhana's (2005, p. 206) study of Black South African schoolboys linked their violence with both toxic masculinity and poverty, describing them as valuing "an oppositional street masculinity ... associated with a flashily dressed black male street thug frequently a member of a gang and armed with a knife or weapon". Masculinities influence gender role stereotypes in a manner that negatively impacts on women concerning men. Women are not considered in the decision-making processes within communities. According to Luthada & Netshandama (2019), hegemonic masculinity forms are used as a shaper for men's dominant behaviours, cultural beliefs, social norms and values that influence gender-based violence. According to Connel (2005), masculinities and gender-based violence involve social practices that construct and maintain the behaviour that reinforces men's dominance over women within societies. It is through socialisation where masculinities influence violence against women and other men.

Adinkrah (2012), says "those cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity in contemporary Ghanaian society include a belief in the fundamental biological distinctions between male and female human nature as well as corresponding behavioural prescription" (p. 475). Hence, men are perceived to be hardworking and women to be nurturing. Adinkrah (2012) argues that the Ghanaian societies also subscribe to several patriarchal features: "men occupy a dominant social status vis-à-vis women in most social domains and there is a general cultural expectation that women acquiesce to men" (Adinkrah, 2012, p. 475). Familial responsibilities are also organized along gender lines: the husband is the provider and the wife is the housekeeper. In a similar conclusion, Baffour (2012) observes that women suffer abuse because of overlapping and conflicting identities of men and women and the perception of masculinity and femininity held by society.

According to DOVVSU and Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana (PPAG), male perpetration of violence against their female partner is evidenced by both physical and sexual violence (Ghanaian Times, October 20, 2020).

The Ghanaian *Daily Graphic* (September 3, 2020) reported of a man killing his wife because he was angry with her and he then took his own life. Police investigations explained that husbands killing their wives had become a frequent occurrence where there have been six incidents in two years in that small town. He further indicates that all these incidents of husbands killing their wives are still under investigation without any conclusive findings. In a

spate of one month, another report in the Ghanaian Times (October 20, 2020) mentioned a husband killing his wife to death in the Upper Region of Ghana and attempted to commit suicide. He alleged that the deceased provoked him which was why he acted violently towards the deceased.

Male partners' motive to dominate, control and punish their female partners has been identified as a predictor of violence against women. For example, Adinkrah (2008), adopting a content analysis approach to homicide cases found out among other things that, oftentimes, the physical violence that culminated in the death of a wife or partner was intended to control, "punish", or "discipline" a supposedly "errant" wife or partner but escalated into a lethal action. According to him, such violence was often part of a chronic pattern of abuse that had characterized the relationship for many months or years. Evidence abounds that dominant attitudes in Ghana are influenced by cultural beliefs and norms about traditional gender roles, and the perception that women's behaviours justify men's violent response. These are also influenced by strong perceptions that violence that occurs in a home is a private/family issue (Takyi & Mann, 2006). Mann and Takyi (2006, 2009) argue that the cultural disposition of men and boys to dominate and husbands desire to control their wives often leads to homicide (Adinkrah, 2008a, 2008b, 14).

Chirwa et al., (2018) adopted a population-based survey involving 2126 men aged 18 and above living in selected communities in four districts in the Central Region of Ghana. Logistic regression techniques were used to determine risk factors for sexual or physical IPV perpetration. Findings revealed that gender inequitable attitudes are major risk factors for sexual or physical IPV perpetration, including childhood violence experience and witnessing, risky behaviour (multiple partners, transactional sex, substance use). However, Issahaku (2012) using a quantitative methodology, with a sample of 443 married women conducted a study in the Northern part of Ghana. Findings indicated that the more controlling a husband is, the more likely his wife would experience extreme violence. Additional findings revealed that more children in marriage are associated with more violence. Also, the relative age of the couple, the woman's general health, type of residency, the woman's employment status, partner employment status and religion stand out as the demographic predictors of at least one form of male partner violence.

2.4 Patriarchy and perpetration of violence against women

Attempts have been made by many scholars to examine possible factors that influence the perpetration of violence against women by male intimate partners. For example, Mathew (2009), working within the pro-feminist framework, explored male perpetrators' understanding, and experience of domestic violence. He adopted a qualitative methodological approach and interviewed 12 male perpetrators of domestic violence. It was found that men adhered to patriarchal codes of masculinity, where control over their partners was permissible and justifiable. Additional findings revealed that men used denial, justification, remorse and dissociation when they referred to their violent behaviour. Societal acceptance of male domination over females and female subordination to males has been noted as one of the many factors of violence against women.

As Kim (2012) argues that the uneven distribution of power deeply rooted in the traditional African marriages is depicted in the acceptance of male promiscuity, the power of the extended family over the married couple and the universal institution of bride-price as the bases of the widespread abuse of wives. He further argued that polygamy is both accepted and heavily recognized in the African customary law. In other words, the payment of the bride price or bridewealth correlates with violence against women. Gadzekpo (1999), asserts that men's control over women is driven by men's belief that women are possession and men are entitled to demand sex from them whether the women want it or not. Consequently, it leads to violence against women. The bride price for most abused women makes it difficult for them to leave abusive husbands unless their families of origin are willing to return the amount paid (Pan African News Agency, 2001). Similarly, Rudwick and Posel (2015) note that the custom of the bridewealth or bride price is understood as symbolising a man's masculinity and a man's role as the economic provider. They further indicate that men link the ability to afford ilobolo (bride wealth in the Zulu society) to their masculinity. Women are forced to stay in an abusive relationship or marriage because of perceived judgement and rejection by family and society should there be a separation from the union by the woman (Adjei & Mpiani, 2018). Also, the bride price is perceived as a symbol of honour to the bride and her family, so this reinforces the belief of staying in a relationship or marriage whether it is abusive or not (Adjei & Mpiani, 2018).

Flood and Pease (2009) assert that women's response to victimisation may encourage the perpetration of abuse against them. Similarly, other studies have demonstrated that attitudes are significant for violence against women in three key domains: (a) the perpetration of violence against women, (b) women's response to the victimisation, (c) community and institutional response to violence against women. Flood and Pease (2009) explain that gender and culture intersect in different cultural contexts, women's acceptance of violence also shape attitudes toward violence against women. Although these studies used different approaches to investigate the determinants of violence against women, they all acknowledge the fundamental role patriarchal codes of masculinity play in violence against women. Most experts believe that almost all societies of the world hold on to patriarchal belief systems. For example, Brownmiller (1975) observes that Radical Feminists have promoted the idea that patriarchy could explain male violence against women. Similarly, Hunnicutt (2009) asserts that, the concept of patriarchy holds promise for theorising violence against women because it keeps the theoretical lens on dominance, gender and power. Furthermore, it anchors the problem of violence against women in social condition, rather than individual attributes. There is a growing scientific evidence indicating that violence against women occurs in a sociocultural context supported by ideology (Goodman, 1993; Jenkins, 2000). According to Brownridge (2002), the feminist theory argues that stronger patriarchal attitude in society is linked with a higher level of prevalence of male violence against women.

Adopting a quantitative methodology, Sakalli (2001) surveyed 221 Turkish college students to determine men's beliefs and attitudes towards violence against women. Findings revealed that patriarchy and hostile sexism predicted violence against women. Similarly, Glick & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002; Ferreira & Aguiar de Souza, 2002) involved college students, men and women from Brazil and Turkey to complete the ambivalent sexism inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and measures of attitude about wife abuse. Findings demonstrated that in both nations, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism positively correlated with attitudes that legitimise abuse. These studies from Turkey and Brazil both involved men and women college students and their emphases suggest that hostile beliefs and hostile sexism predicted violence against women. However, contrary to these views other US researchers examined the associations among implicit attitudes toward factors related to IPV and objective, behavioural outcomes of 26 male offenders legally mandated to attend partner violence interventions. Implicit associations tests (IATs) results indicated that more rapid associations between violence-related words and positive valences, rather than gender evaluations or associations between gender and violence,

were associated with greater IPV perpetration during the year before involvement in the study as well as with poorer outcomes (Eckhardt & Crane, 2014).

Furthermore, Allen and Devitt (2012) conducted a study using a quantitative method with 224 participants in Northern Liberia. Their findings indicated the widespread experience of intimate partner violence among the respondent group, including physical abuse, sexual, verbal and economic abuse and respondents' acceptance of the violence. This is consistent with Flood and Pease's (2009) argument that perceptions of the legitimacy of men's violence to intimate partners are constituted through an agreement with the beliefs that men should be dominant in the household and intimate relationship and have the right to enforce their dominance through physical chastisement. It is argued that because society has ascribed authority to men, women's beliefs in their right or their sense of equality diminishes.

Also, the reinforcement of gender beliefs about women's secondary place in society and the family promotes the perpetuation and normalization of violence against women. Several studies (Flood & Pease's, 2009; Chirwa et al., 2018), although in diverse settings, populations and different methodologies, have all established the fact that, there is a consistent association between men's adherence to sexist patriarchal and sexually hostile attitude and their use of violence against women. By piecing together, the findings of these attitudinal studies (e.g., Brownridge, 2002; Glick et al., 2002; Flood & Pease, 2009) show that men's cultural ideas of masculinity are interwoven with a self-identity of themselves as family leaders and authority figures and therefore, their motivation to dominate women.

The rationale for comparing of studies from European and US settings and that of the Ghanaian setting is to examine the varying or similar roles beliefs and attitudes play in the violence against women and the relevance of these studies to the present study. While there is substantial evidence that demonstrates the significant relationship between sexist patriarchal and sexually hostile attitude and violence against women, several researchers have noted that there are other correlates of violence against women. For example, jealousy, female partner refusal to have sex and infidelity of the partner are motives for some men to abuse or kill their partners, but the most common motive for male perpetrators is separation of the female partner from the relationship or marriage (Campbell et al., 2007; Garcia et al., 2007; Kivisto, 2015).

2.5 Childhood exposure to abuse and perpetration of violence against women

The relationship between exposure to intimate partner violence and later perpetration has been given attention by several scholars. Ample evidence abounds that one of the most consistent findings in the study of violence against women or gender-based violence is childhood exposure to violence (e.g., Lee & Weinstein, 1997; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Tolman & Bennett, 1990) and experiencing maltreatment in childhood predicts IPV in adulthood Capaldi & Clark, 1998; Holtzworth et al., 1994).

Roberts et al., (2011) conducted a propensity-score analysis of intimate partner violence by using data of 14,564 U.S. men age 20 years and older. Findings revealed that men who witnessed intimate partner violence in childhood were at increased risk of later perpetration IPV, for men by an estimated 56% to 63%, depending on severity. An earlier study by White and Widom (2003) adopted a prospective cohort design with documented cases of childhood abuse and neglect, examined both male or female abused and neglected children who reported higher levels of intimate partner violence perpetration in young adulthood than a matched control group. Findings reveal that there is a link between early childhood victimization and later perpetration of violence against partners for both men and women. Further findings indicated higher rates of IPV perpetration among women compared to men in both the abused and neglected as well as control samples. Previous studies by White and Widom (2003), on the contrary, found higher perpetration amongst female participants by examining both male and female abused and neglected children. Although the studies were conducted in the same country, results from earlier studies (Fehrenbach & Monastersky, 1988; Hunter, Lexier, Goodwin, Browne, & Dennis, 1993; Mathews, Mathews, & Speltz, 1999) indicated higher perpetration amongst females whilst later studies demonstrated a higher risk of perpetration among males. The difference in the findings could be argued that one study conducted a comparison between both males and females but the other looked at males only which showed a different result.

Therefore, it can be argued that there is perpetration among both males and female when are abused and neglected in their childhood. It appears that there is no consensus in both findings, and therefore, one cannot draw any firm conclusions from both studies. But a study in Pakistan finds consistency with the result of Roberts et al., (2011) indicating that there is a higher risk of perpetration amongst males than females. In Pakistan, 176 married men were interviewed to

explore their attitudes of wife abuse and examine predictors for the risk of physical abuse. It was found that 55% of the men were victims of physical violence during childhood, 65% witnessed their mothers being beaten and 46% thought husband has the right to beat the wife (Fikree et al., 2005).

Parallels can be drawn between social learning and violence against women. Models of social cognitive confirm that children learn to perpetrate intimate violence by observing and imitating the violence in their childhood homes of origin without acquiring nonviolent conflict resolution and verbal skills. Watt and Scrandis (2013) examined traumatic childhood exposures in the lives of male perpetrators of female intimate partner violence in a qualitative study comprising nine participants. They found among other things that normalisation of violence was a common factor in the perpetration of abuse against female intimate partners. Similarly, Machisa and Shamu (2018) conducted a quantitative study comprising 2838 men who had been in a heterosexual intimate relationship to estimate the prevalence and factors associated with intimate partner violence perpetration by men. Their findings indicated that IPV perpetration was associated with child abuse history and personal gender attitudes among others.

Furthermore, many scholars suggest that violence can be a family heritage transmitted from one generation to the next (Corvo & carpenter, 2000; Ehrensaft et al., 2003; Gover et al., 2008). Parallels can be drawn between previous authors such as Straus et al. (1980) and Mbi Linyi, Logan-Greene et al. (2012) who made a connection between childhood exposure to violence and adult perpetration of violence. Mbi Linyi et al. (2012) adopted a quantitative method to examine 124 non-treatment seeking and adjudicated adult male violence perpetrators. Their findings indicated that exposure to domestic violence in childhood contributes to the normalization of violence, which could predict future adult intimate partner violence perpetration. This finding is consistent with the analyses of Murrell et al., (2007) that suggests high exposure to domestic violence as children can lead to adult's violent perpetration. Similarly, Delsol and Margolin (2004) noted that "exposure to domestic violence is perhaps one of a series of childhood adversities that tend to co-occur and could contribute to adult perpetration" (p. 118). Literature supports these causal pathways demonstrating that boys who witness intimate partner violence are more likely to condone violence, to think that violence improves one's image and status and therefore justify their use of violence.

Summarising the findings of these studies, a conclusion can be drawn that, childhood exposure to domestic violence can be associated with an increased display of aggressive behaviour in adulthood.

2. 6 Alcohol/drug abuse and the perpetuation of violence against women

Research indicates that substance abuse is one of several important factors that increase the risk of intimate partner violence which also increases the risk of substance abuse (Bennet & Bland, 2008). For example, in South Africa, Dekwaadsteniet (2017), adopted a qualitative design to explore male perpetrator's understanding of their masculinity and their view on intimate partner violence. Findings indicated that substance abuse and witnessing violence as a child, and peer pressure were predictors of violence against women. Additional findings revealed that men's understanding of their masculine identity could be shaped by various social and environmental factors that could influence their ideas and belief about intimate partner violence. My reflections emphasize that hegemonic masculinity forms are used as a model for men's dominant behaviours, social norms, cultural beliefs and values that influence violence against women. In their study of violence against women, the authors Peltzer and Pengpid (2013) assessed the association between the frequency and severity of several types of intimate partner violence against women and the use of alcohol and illicit drug use. Findings indicated that having a partner with a drinking problem only and having a partner with a drinking problem and drug use were associated with greater physical intimate partner violence, Peltzer & Pengpid (2013). Again, a drinking problem and drug use were associated with increased psychological abuse (Peltzer & Pengpid 2013). Additionally, Peltzer & Pengpid (2013), suggested that a drinking problem and drug use among male partners is a strong determinant of physical intimate partner abuse of women in South Africa.

The findings above strengthen the argument that heavy drinking can cause cognitive impairment that continues for several months (Sullivan et al 2002). The simple fact that violence scarcely occurs outside men's comfort zone shows that men who perpetrate abuse against women are very much aware of their actions (Abbey et al., 2001; Seto & Barbaree, 1995). Most often than not, the choice to batter precedes the drinking or drugging (Bennett & Bland, 2008.).

Other numerous findings have also shed more light on the connection between alcohol and drug use in intimate partner violence. For example, Sharp et al. (2003) conducted a study to

examine the connection between alcohol and drug use and intimate partner violence, both during the incident and in the year leading up to it. It was revealed that higher levels of substance use by the offenders (and to a lesser extent, by the victims) tracked closely with more severe violence. Additionally, Lloyd and Emery (2000), adopting a qualitative methodology identified three prominent themes: threats to the relationship, stressful life events and alcohol and drug use as contributing factors to intimate partner violence. These studies (Peltzer & Pengpid 2013; Sharp et al., 2003; Sullivan et al 2002) also inform us about the connection between substance abuse and its implication on violence against women. There is no doubt, substance abuse impairs the judgement of the user and may lead to negative behavioural patterns. Brain-imaging studies have shown that the irrational behaviour of substance abusers is associated with changes in the orbitofrontal cortex (Hanley, 2008).

Evidence abounds that problem drinking can affect social, economic and relationship issues between intimate partners, thus creating stress in the relationship which can lead to aggression by the abuser. As identified by Juodis et al. (2014) in their comparison study of 37 homicide perpetrators and 78 non-domestic homicide perpetrators, their findings reveal that about 75.7% of domestic homicide perpetrators were problem drinkers and 64.9% were problem drug users. Also, domestic homicide perpetrators in their study were psychopaths likewise the non-domestic homicide perpetrators. The finding lends support to the findings of Fikree et al., 2005; Dekwaadsteniet, 2017; Balogun et al., 2012; Bennet et al., 2008. Although similar to Dekwaadsteniet (2017), Peltzer and Pengpid (2013) lay more emphasis on problem drinking and drug use as a determinant of violence against women.

Considerable evidence suggests that substance abuse is one of several important factors that increase the risk of intimate partner, also the risk of sexual abuse (Bennet & Bland, 2008). This goes to strengthen the argument that violence against women is on multiple levels. It is well established in the literature that factors operate at an individual, organizational, communal and societal level (Flood & Pease, 2009). Some scholars argue that problem drinking, and drug use are associated with greater physical intimate partner violence (Peltzer & Pengpid 2013). While others also contend that such relationship is spurious (Berk et al., 1983; Gelles, 1993). For example, Berk et al. (1983), showed no impact between whether the perpetrator or victim had been drinking at the time of the conflict and the severity of the woman's injuries.

2.7 Chapter Summary

Much of the literature reviewed for this study are context-specific, mostly in sub-Saharan African countries, North America and Europe. The majority of these adopted a quantitative approach and a few used the qualitative approaches. The findings of these studies indicate that several factors contribute to male perpetration of violence against women and the primary or fundamental root cause of male perpetration of violence is the perceived gender inequalities between both sexes. Men are perceived to be superior to women and women are subordinated to men by marriage and the payment of the bride wealth or bride price.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Numerous theories of violence against women or intimate partner violence have been put forward to find an explanation for the causes of violence against women or gender-based violence. Explanatory theories are foundational to male perpetrator violence prevention efforts (Nation et al., 2003). Examining ways to prevent violence against women or intimate partner violence will help in preventing premature death in some female partners. For example, Graham (2020) asserts that 22 identified individual theories seek to explain why people might act violently against their partners or kill their intimate partners. Graham (2020) identifies 22 theories categorised within four broad theoretical perspectives: (a) feminist perspective, (b) evolutionary perspective, (c) sociological/criminological perspective, and (d) combined perspective. This chapter zooms in broadly on the feminist perspective and pays attention to notions of patriarchy, socially learned behaviour and the theory of recognition. The study draws specifically on the theories of patriarchy and social learning and uses them as lenses guiding the study.

3.2 Feminist Perspective

The feminist perspective prioritizes the concepts of gender, power, control, and patriarchy. It assumes that these concepts are critical to understanding violence against women and intimate partner homicide perpetration (Harper, 2017; Serran & Firestone, 2004). From this viewpoint, violence against women is one of the dangers that girls and women face in a male-dominated (i.e., patriarchal) society in which they have, less power (i.e., influence and control) than boys and men. Although the feminist perspective is often considered as a single set of ideas about how to study violence against women or intimate partner homicide, it is nuanced and consists of many different strains of thought (Kirkland, 2013).

Two authors (Kirkland, 2013; Messerschmidt, 2017) spoke more specifically about four strains of feminism: (a) liberal feminism, (b) Marxist feminism, (c) radical feminism, and (d) socialist feminism. Liberal feminism emphasizes the socialization of gender roles as the key source of oppression among women; gendered socialization is thought to contribute to inequality among

men and women by restricting women's exposure to and interactions with the public realm. Marxist feminism instead emphasises women's lower economic class status within the context of capitalism as the primary source of women's oppression (Kirkland, 2013). Radical feminism highlights patriarchy as the key source of the oppression of women and seeks to address the underlying causes of gender inequality that support the development and continuation of particular detrimental patterns of behaviour, including the use of violence by men against women to maintain male dominance (Kirkland, 2013). Lastly, socialist feminism can be viewed as a combination of Marxist and radical feminist views. Socialist feminists assert that women's oppression stems from both class- and sex-based inequalities (Kirkland, 2013).

3. 3 Theory of Recognition

Gregoratto (2017) posits that the theory of recognition assumes that intimate partner violence (IPV) or intimate partner homicide (IPH) against women occurs due to the incapacity of men to accept their partners' autonomy within a male-dominated (i.e., patriarchal) society with distinct male and female gender roles and that IPV or IPH is perpetrated by men against women in an attempt to maintain male dominance. Each one of these theories shed light on the importance of gender, power, and control in some manner and for the most part, focuses on male IPV or IPH perpetration against female partners.

Undoubtedly, there is a lack of consensus on the causes of this social problem. Some have directed their attention to single-dimensional micro-theories that address issues like learning principles, individual psychopathology and interpersonal interaction. Other researchers such as (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Loue, 2001) dwelt on macro-theories such as social, structural and cultural factors as determinants of domestic violence. According to Bowman (2003), there is no one theory to comprehensively conceptualise violence against women, therefore there should be a multi-causal explanatory framework in understanding and evaluating the problem of violence against women. This study will look at two categories of the theories, the theory of patriarchy which is embedded in structural and cultural factors and the learning theories. The concept of patriarchy holds promise for theorising violence against women because it keeps the theoretical focus on dominance, gender, and power. It also anchors the problem of violence against women in social conditions, rather than individual attributes.

3.4 Theory of Patriarchy

hooks (2010) has been among formidable voices on the subject of patriarchy. Patriarchy is a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak. Its goal is to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence. hooks (2010) explains further with psychotherapist John Bradshaw's clear-sighted definition of 'patriarchy' as a "social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family in both domestic and religious functions"(hooks, 2010:1). hooks (2010) mentions and emphasizes that psychological patriarchy is the dynamic between those qualities deemed "masculine" and "feminine" in which half of our human traits are exalted while the other half is devalued (hooks, 2010, p.4) Both men and women participate in this tortured value system. Psychological patriarchy is a "dance of contempt," a perverse form of connection that replaces true intimacy with complex, covert layers of dominance and submission, collusion and manipulation. "Psychological patriarchy" describes the patriarchal thinking common to females and males (hooks, p.4).

hooks (2010) argues that the patriarchy demands that they become and remain emotional cripples. Since it is a system that denies men full access to their freedom of will, it is difficult for any man of any class to rebel against patriarchy, to be disloyal to the patriarchal parent, be that parent female or male. Patriarchy as a system remains intact, and many people continue to believe that it is needed if humans are to survive as a species. This belief seems ironic, given that patriarchal methods of organising nations, especially the insistence on violence as a means of social control, has led to the slaughter of millions of people on the planet (Hooks, 2010). Radical feminists argue that patriarchy preceded private property (Hooks, 2010). They believe that the original and basic contradiction is between the sexes and not between economic classes. Radical feminists consider all women to be a class. Unlike the traditionalists, they do not believe that patriarchy is natural or that it has always existed and will continue to do so (Brownmiller 1976, Firestone 1974).

Dobash and Dobash (2009) suggests that patriarchy is a cultural belief system that allows men to hold greater power and privilege than women on a social hierarchy. In its extreme form, patriarchy gives men the right to dominate and control women and children. Langbakk (2014, p.201) explains that violence against women affects women "disproportionally as it is directly

connected with the unequal distribution of power between women and men perpetuating the devaluation and subordination of women and violating women's fundamental rights and freedom". Many scholarly articles on domestic violence or intimate violence have drawn their explanation of violence against women from the theory of patriarchy. Theory of patriarchy has been the main conceptual framework to adequately explain the socially legitimized structure that favors men. According to Walby (1990), patriarchy is "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (p.135). Furthermore, Walby (1990) acknowledges that there are six forms of patriarchy: household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality and culture that together are argued to capture the complexity, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of women's subordination. Women's lives are organized around reproduction, sexuality and childbearing. Better jobs and higher wages of men in the labor market "encourage wifely as a career" (Walby, 1990, p.20). Also, women's domestic responsibilities such as housework, childcare and domestic services directly favour men and establish women's inferior labor market position (Hartmann, 1981). An argument is sometimes made that the socio-economic forces and the belief in the innate superiority of males are factors that reinforce the unequal power relations in intimate relationships (Angela, 2002). On the other hand, Silberschmidt (2001) explains that a patriarch and head of a household also has many responsibilities. Walby (1990) intimates that male authority connotes a material condition while male responsibility is normatively constituted. Consequently, the identities and roles of men become confused and contradictory because of the irony of patriarchy. The Ghanaian society is patriarchal, and this impacts directly on womanhood and motherhood, thereby restricting women's advancement in their chosen field of work and burdening them with the responsibilities of nurturing and rearing children within the family (Ampadu-Siaw et al., 2019). As a result, some women end up engaging mostly in menial jobs and some other low paying wages (Ampadu-Siaw et al., 2019).

Taking into account the difference in the biological make-up of males and females, it can be said that the social role of men and women would not be the same (Ebert, 1988; Freud, 1924). Freud's (1924) belief in the superiority of the male and the *phallus* informed his theory of psychosocial development. He explains that the destiny of women is rooted in their biological makeup; he further explains that women's biology defines their psychology and thus their abilities and role in society. From the above explanation, it can be argued that the belief in gender role socialization will emerge. In parallel with Freud's theory of psychosocial development, Ebert (1988) notes that patriarchy is firmly embedded in the constant

reproduction of female desire for the male sexual partner in narratives and other practices. Ebert (1988) explains that the female finds or defines her worth around the male partner. Truman-Schram et al., 2000 agrees that some women consider a relationship with a man as an important part of their lives as women.

Indeed, the African society places demands on women, so much that a grown woman without a husband is seen as an incomplete individual. According to the radical feminist approach (Ti-Grace, et al, 1968), there are central factors that foster partner violence. These include the historically male-dominated social structure and socialization practices teaching men and women gender-specific roles. The argument is sometimes made that, the family is a source of women's oppression in society (Hartmann, 1981). In parallel to the previous argument, Lerner (1986) states that the family is a major contributing factor in creating social structures in the society, by consistently training and reinforcing social structures that favor men. Also, Summers (1977) indicates that the family ascribes power and authority in society on men. Historically, women in general suffer deprivation of political rights, resulting in intimidation, subordination and exclusion from participating in decision making and the political processes of the nation (Ohene-Konadu, 2001). The majority of families in Ghana see men as heads of families (Konadu, 2001). Hence the family in Ghana becomes an agency for socializing the future generation in patriarchal belief systems. Because they play with toys and gadgets, boys are encouraged to be bold, aggressive and domineering, unlike the girls who are taught to be nurturing, loving and submissive (Konadu, 2001).

There is a growing research evidence that attitudes and behaviours associated with violence against women are indeed connected to larger systematic gender inequalities in society, maintained by structural, ideological and familial patriarchy (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Smith, 1990; Sugermann & Frankel, 1996; Yllo & Staus, 1990). According to some scholars (Douck et al., 2003; Haj-Yahia, 2003), cultural and patriarchal beliefs have contributed to biased interpretations of Islamic laws to provide religious authority in the use of violence against women in the family and the marital home. Similarly, the Christian Faith in Ephesians 5:22-23, states that "wives submit yourselves to your husbands in everything, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is Head of the church: and He is the saviour of the body" (The Holy Bible, the King James Version). Cultural beliefs have been adapted from religion which is another construct that has been positively associated with traditional patriarchal ideologies (Morgan, 1987; Reek, Lowe & William, 1991; St Lawrence & Joyner,

1999). Studies have suggested that traditionalists or patriarchal religious ideologists may legitimize or refuse to adequately condemn the practice of domestic violence against women (Nason-Clark, 1997).

Gardner (1977, p.66) argued that “all religions preach subordination of women not just to God, but to men as an article of faith”. The Islamic religion forbids women from leading men in the mosque thus symbolizing men as the head of the woman. Thus, men have a domineering role over women, making them likely perpetrators of abuse. Studies on religion's role in condoning violent acts against wives have produced mixed results, attributed partly to it being a multifaceted construct and its covariance with religious ideologies. While some scholars have suggested the role of patriarchal ideologies in justifying domestic violence acts (Nason-Clark, 1997, 2000), other researchers point to the negative or weak and curvilinear association between religious involvement and incidents of acts of violence against women (Brinkerhoff et al., 1992; Ellison et a., 1999) or highlight religion's protective effects against women (Ellison & Anderson 2001).

The relevance of this theory to the present study is that it would shed more light on the root cause of why male partners choose to batter their female partners. As noted in Dobash & Dobash's (2009), the theory of patriarchy has been argued to efficiently explain violence against women. The theory would guide the study to identify risk factors associated with violence against women. The application of this knowledge would help target an appropriate intervention policy for male perpetrators of violence. Furthermore, the theory of patriarchy is best for theorizing violence against women because it keeps the theoretical focus on dominance, gender, and power. It also supports the problem of violence against women in social conditions, rather than individual attributes. Again, this theory is appropriate for the study of domestic violence against women in the Ghanaian context because most traditional African society is patriarchal including Ghana (Bowman, 2003).

3.5 Social Learning Theories

The social learning theory (SLT) consists of four key components: imitation, definitions, differential associations, and differential reinforcement (Bandura, & Walters, 1963). Imitation refers to the extent to which one models the behaviour of role models. People model after

significant others in their lives whom they admire, whom they have a perceived personal relationship, and whom they have directly observed behaving. In the current context the theory, consistent with the principles of intergenerational transmission theory, predicts a greater probability of the use of physical aggression against one's partner for those individuals who have personally observed others engaging in acts of violence against their partners (Bandura, & Walters, 1963).

The second component of the theory relates to the attitudes and values individuals have regarding the morality of the law in general and the specific wrong behaviour, that is criminal behaviour. These attitudes may approve, disapprove, or be morally neutral toward a specific deviant behaviour. The theory assumes that individuals tend to imitate or to fashion their behaviour after that of others whom they regard as important, powerful or successful. Parents constitute important role models for children, based on their interaction with each other (Bjorkqvist & Ostrman, 1992). Most studies on violence against women have indicated that social learning theory conceptualises domestic violence as a result of socialisation. Bandura (1977) posits that behaviour is first learned by imitation or modelling and then sustained by social contingency; that is the consequence of such behaviour. He further theorizes that the interaction of behaviour, environment and our views of self-efficacy could interact to explain personality. Santrock (1998) talks about observable learning, which is learning by observing what others do. Observational learning is also referred to as imitation or modelling. According to Bandura (1977), people cognitively record the behaviour of others and adopt the behaviour depending on the consequence of the behaviour. Violent behaviour is reinforced when peers and authorities fail to sanction batterers for using violence. Inconsistent with Bandura (1977), Akers theory of social learning gives a theoretical basis for why the behaviour of criminals is continually reinforced. It could be an individual's held belief or beliefs reinforced by family and peers with whom the individual associates are criminal. Literature contends that criminal ideas are learned from parents, peers and a combination of parents and peers. According to (Akers, 2000; Lauritsen, 1993; Simons et al., 1994), delinquent behaviours are learned from observing parental actions that are positively reinforced. Actions could be smoking or using foul language as well as witnessing violent actions such as psychologically and physically aggressive acts. Several studies have reported intimate partner violence as a learned social behaviour for both men and women. Research in the intergenerational cycling of violence has been studied in many settings. Male children who are beaten are more likely to beat their intimate partners (Ellsberg et al., 1999; Abrahams et al., 2006) and, in some settings, to have

been beaten themselves as children. Girls who are beaten are more likely to be beaten as adults (Jewkes et al., 1998; Hotelling & Sugarman, 1986). Women who are beaten in childhood by parents are also more likely to be abused by intimate partners as adults (Jewkes et al., 2002).

Witnessing and experiences of violence in the home in childhood teach children that violence is normal in certain settings. In this way, men learn to use violence and women learn to tolerate it or at least tolerate aggressive behaviour. It seems that witnessing abuse between parents or peers with no punishment could permit parental violence to be reinforced as an acceptable behaviour with no ramification. These actions are, then, passed on to peer interactions that youth and juveniles usually are engaged in (Akers, 2000; Lauritsen, 1993; Simons et al., 1994). So far as parental violence is not learned as a punishable offence under criminal law in the US, the act may appear to be an acceptable means for problem-solving in relationships in early adolescence and adulthood. The argument is sometimes made that boys who witness their fathers beating their mothers are seven times more likely to beat their spouses in adulthood. Children who grow up observing physically aggressive models in their family, culture and community often imitate the behaviour they see (Myers, 1986). Heise (1998) emphasizes that through witnessing the use of violence by one parent against another, they may learn that violence is an effective and appropriate instrumental strategy.

Interventions based upon the social learning perspective are rooted in efforts to prevent exposure of children to negative role models and the promotion of skill development in those who have been so exposed. The empirical basis for this view is in two folds: evaluation of cognitive-behavioural batterers programs; and research, first retrospective and now prospective, that finds high rates of family violence perpetrated by men exposed to violence in their childhood.

3.5.1 The relevance of the theory of social learning to the study

The present study adopts Albert Bandura's (1977) and Akers's (2000) social learning theory, because of its ability to better explain interpersonal and intergenerational violence. Social learning theory can demonstrate both conforming and deviant behaviour. Furthermore, it has been empirically tested on general abuse and aggression (Akers, 1998). It accounts for the likelihood of an individual becoming prone to deviance as it accounts for individual

conforming to society. The theory would help to better understand and assist male perpetrators of violence against their female partners.

3.6 Applicability of the theories

Considering the setting of the study, Ghana is a patriarchal society and these forces play at both the family and societal level. No one theory can explain adequately the issue of violence against women; therefore, an eclectic approach is useful in tackling the issue. For an effective intervention strategy to be adopted in curbing or eradicating violence against women, it must be based on a clearly defined theory or a set of related theories about violence against women. Therefore, theory of patriarchy and social learning theories have been applied in the current study. Patriarchy justifies violence against women and children to maintain male domination and control. Studies show that violence against women has its roots in the subordinate role women have held traditionally in private and public life.

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides some explanatory theories that are foundational to male perpetrator violence prevention efforts. I offered several relevant theories in the understanding of violence against women and adopted two relevant theories that underpin the present study. There is ample evidence that indicates that the theories of patriarchy and social learning are applicable in studying men's violence towards women. I also talk about the relevance of the two theories of patriarchy and social learning and their applicability to the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed description of the study's methodology. This involves the rationale for the qualitative approach, research settings, target population, inclusion and exclusion criteria, sample size, the research design and justification and sampling technique of the study. It also presents the data collection methods used, procedure, data analysis, methodological rigor, and finally, a summary of the chapter.

4.2 Study Design

The study adopted a qualitative approach because the goal of the study was to seek to understand and explore lived experiences of convicted male perpetrators of intimate partner abuse. The qualitative method provided much greater insight into the meaning, motivation, and dynamics leading to perpetrators' violent actions towards their intimate partners Ellsberg and Heise (2005). Furthermore, the qualitative design allowed me to delve more deeply into the lives of participants, their settings and socio-cultural background (Baker & Edwards, 2012). To prevent the perpetuation of abuse against women by male partners, intervention strategies targeted at reducing or preventing violence against women is needed. However, this cannot be achieved if the motivations and reasons for the perpetuation of abuse by male perpetrators are not known. Thus, it became necessary to adopt a qualitative study to explore the lived experiences and motivations of convicted male perpetrators of abuse.

4.3 Research Settings

Ghana, the setting for the data collection for the study, is a West African country sharing borders with Ivory Coast to the West, Togo to the East, Burkina Faso to the North and on the South, the Atlantic Ocean. The population of Ghana was at 30,280,811 as at January 2019. Of this population, 50.0% are males and 49.1% are females Ghana Statistical Service (2010).

Ghana's fertility rate is currently 3.94 children born to every woman in rural areas and 2.78 to every woman in urban areas Ghana Statistical Service (2010). The country's population is currently growing at a rate of 2% per year Ghana Statistical Service (2010).

The specific research site was the Nsawam Prison. It is a medium-security prison established on a one-mile square plot of land. It is located on the outskirts of the Nsawam Township in the

Eastern Region of Ghana, and presently the only medium-security prison in Ghana. The prison is the largest in Ghana and was officially opened on October 10, 1960. It holds long sentences and aggressive prisoners; therefore, it is reasonably fortified to prevent internal escape (Opare-Akuffo, 2009). Nsawam Prison was considered suitable and appropriate because it is the only medium prison in the country. It houses offenders from diverse orientations and backgrounds, which allowed me to collect varied lived experiences from perpetrators from various parts of the country. The prison's location is in the Eastern Region which made it easy for me to access it. The population for the study consisted of convicted male perpetrators who committed gender-based violations. Only perpetrators who had been convicted for at least six months were recruited for the study.

4.4. Sampling Technique and sample size

The sample consisted of two sets of participants: 1) convicted male perpetrators of domestic violence, and 2) key informants - officers of DOVVSU. The convicted male perpetrators were accessed in the prison house at Nsawam and the key informants were accessed in their offices in the various Districts in the Greater Accra Region. The selection criteria for all the participants are discussed as follows.

Participants were purposively selected as I was interested in convicted perpetrators of domestic violence. This meant that I had to be specific in selecting participants who would assist me to reach my research goal. To this end, the purposive sampling method was used to recruit participants for the study. It must be noted that although I set out to interview 25 prison inmates only 22 were interviewed due to availability and willingness of participants. Three of the participants withdrew from the study with an explanation that they were not comfortable with the exercise. The study consisted of narratives from 22 incarcerated males of various ages serving different prison terms.

4.5. Inclusion criteria for male perpetrators

Male perpetrators of eighteen years (18yrs) and above who have perpetrated abuse/violence against their partners and have been incarcerated for six months or more at the time of data collection were included in the study. My choice of perpetrators incarcerated from six months was informed by the fact that a sentence of six months in the country jail is determinate.

4.5.1. Exclusion criteria for male perpetrators

Males convicted of other crimes, other than gendered violence such as stealing, or robbery were not included in the current study. Male perpetrators convicted of gendered violence against males were also not included.

4.5.2. Inclusion criteria for key informants

Key informants who had served for a period two years and above in their current position at DOVVSU with a Rank of a senior officer.

4.5.3. Exclusion criteria for key informants

Officers who have served less than two years in their current position and with a lower Rank were excluded in the study.

4.6. Study participants

The key informants were also purposively selected because I was interested in collecting information from field officers who handle cases of both perpetrators and victims. Therefore, I had to go to the DOVVSU Headquarters in the Greater Accra Region with a permission letter to interview field officers in the various DOVVSU establishments across the regional districts. A letter of introduction from the office of the Director-General of Police was issued to me for the interview. I intended to interview six key informants across the three Units, unfortunately I interviewed five because the DOVSUU unit at Adenta had only one field officer. The officers served as key informants who assisted me with the needed information regarding the roles government officials play in working with issues related to violence against women. The support they provide, the challenges they experience, and their recommendations and reflections on how things could be done differently, if possible. The key informants who participated in the in-depth interview consisted of two participants from the DOVVSU Headquarters in the central business of Accra; two participants from the Medina Unit of DOVVSU in Medina, a suburb of Accra, and one participant from the Adenta Unit of DOVVSU in Adenta, a suburb of Accra.

4.7. The demographic information of Key informants

The demographic information of participants has been provided here to offer a pictorial view and summary of their details. I deemed this information as crucial to have as it offers a glimpse of who the participants are. Below I offer two tables with demographic information of all participants:

Table 1 Demographic information of participants (male perpetrators of violence against women)

Key Informant #	Age at the time of the incident.	Marital status at the time of offence	Highest level of education	Occupation at the time of offence	Ethnic group	Religion
1	27	Married	Junior high school (JHS)	Self-employed	Ewe	Christian
2	25	Married	Basic	Farmer	Akan	Christian
3	28	Married	JHS	Chain saw operator	Akan	Christian
4	26	Married	Basic	Farmer	Ewe	Christian
5	45	Married	Basic	Businessman	Akan	Christian
6	32	Married	No formal education	Farmer	Gonja	Muslim
7	32	Married	Primary	Farmer	Akan	Christian
8	22	Married	Primary	Unemployed	Akan	Christian
9	25	Married	Senior secondary	Teacher	Akan	Christian
10	33	Married	Junior High School	Carpenter	Ewe	Traditionalist

11	27	Married	Basic	Farmer	Akan	Christian
12	32	Married	Senior secondary	Employed	Akan	Christian
13	33	Married	Junior High School	Carpenter/farmer	Ewe	Traditionalist
14	28	Married	Primary	Farmer	Ewe	Christian
15	30	Married	Senior secondary	Teacher	Akan	Christian
16	23	Married	No formal education	Farmer	Akan	Christian
17	24	Married	Junior High School	Vulcanizer	Ewe	Christian
18	32	Single	Secondary	Businessman	Ewe	Muslim
19	33	Married	Tertiary	Teacher	Akan	Christian
20	25	Single	Tertiary	Student	Akan	Christian
21	29	Married	Senior High School	Self-employed	Akan	Christian
22	26	Single	Senior High School	Unemployed	Akan	Christian

Table 2 *Demographic information of key informants*

Informant #	Age	Sex	Highest Educational level	Rank	Years in the service	Years in the current position	Marital status
1	41	Female	Secondary	Inspector	27	5	Married
2	41+	Male	Secondary	Chief Inspector	31	2	Married
3	41+	Male	Degree	Chief inspector	22	2	Married
4	36 – 40	Female	Degree	Sergeant	17	3	Married
5	41+	Female	Degree	Chief Inspector	25	2	Married

4.7.1. The ethnicity of respondents (convicted male perpetrators)

The Akan ethnic group formed the majority representing 68%, followed by Ewes 27% of the sample while the rest were distributed among the other tribal groups except the Ga ethnic group there was no representation. This percentage sample is consistent with the population of Ghana. The Akans are 47.5% of the population, and the Ewe make 13.9%, with the Ga-Dangme making 7.4% of the population (Ghana Statistical Service 2013).

The sample was mainly dominated by Christians representing 80.2% while the Muslims formed only 19%.

4.7.2. Age Range (convicted male perpetrators)

The age range as per the demographic table above shows that the highest number of perpetrators interviewed in this study were between the ages of 19 and 23 years old.

4.7.3. Level of Education (convicted male perpetrators)

Most of the respondents had no education at all, to basic schooling. A few have secondary school education. The low level of education and its correlation to crime is in line with Ahn's (2002) study which found that individuals with higher levels of education reported a lower incidence of both physical and verbal aggression as perpetrators. Evidence abounds that education confers on people's social empowerment, self-confidence, and the capacity to use information and resources to one's benefit Jewkes (2002).

4.8. Data Collection

I received introductory letters from the Ghana Prisons Office and Office of the DOVVSU with details of the study and sent to the human resource department of the Nsawam Prison Office and the Regional Office of the DOVVSU in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. I was assisted to identify participants who met the inclusion criteria I provided. Two Prison officers were assigned as research assistants to help recruit male perpetrators as participants for the study. Their role was limited to recruitment, organizing rooms for the interview, and standing by as prison guards during interviews. The prison guards were made to sign a confidentiality agreement and were positioned at a far end of the interview room to prevent them from eaves dropping into the interview. Therefore, their presence, most likely, did not affect the interview process.

Before the start of each interview with participants, they were asked their preferred language for the interview. Their dominant choice of language was the English language. I explained

the nature of the study to participants. Verbal and written consent was sought from each of them after which permission was sought to make notes during the interview in a field notebook. Furthermore, I explained to (potential) participants that this was done to help and record accurately for data analysis. The interview was not audio-recorded because audio-recorders are not allowed in prisons in Ghana.

4.9. Procedure for data collection

The procedure for the data collection was in two parts: interviews with inmates of the Nsawam Prison in Eastern Region and interviews with key informants of the DOVVSU in the Greater Accra Region. I conducted five in-depth interviews with key informants who are officers of the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU). They were asked questions related to the core meaning of gender-based violence and which gender reported most abuse. Also, officers were asked about their role as a unit in handling cases of abuse, and what informs a complainant to make a report to the Unit. Finally, it also asked their views on recommendations to enhance future policy implementation relating to domestic violence. These questions were asked to answer the research question of the present study and to help formulate recommendations that can improve policy implementation and targeted programs for the elimination of violence against women. The interviews lasted between one hour and one hour 15 minutes and were conducted in English, for two months. I also conducted in-depth interviews with the 22 convicted male perpetrators of gendered violence. I asked them questions focusing on their motivation and reasons for perpetrating abuse against their female partners. The individual interviews lasted an average of one hour per interview. The interviews were conducted for three months.

4.10. Key Informant in-depth interview results

The key informants were identified and selected from a population of police officers in the offices of DOVVSU. The key informants are the field workers (investigators) who work directly with the perpetrators and victims of violence on the ground.

I conducted five in-depth interviews with key informants who are Field Officers (Investigators) who handle cases of abuse reported to DOVVSU. DOVVSU is a specialised unit within the Ghana Police Service (GPS), established in 1998 to address the rising number of cases of abuse and violence against women and children as well as to research characteristics and trends of crimes against women and children. The role of the Unit is to provide justice to victims and to

prosecute perpetrators. It also takes into consideration to family cohesion and provides alternate means of settlement by adopting the Alternative Resolution Dissolution (ADR) approach.

4.11. Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted at the James Camp Prison, located at Ridge, Accra in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, before the main study. James Camp Prison is the only male-only prison in Ghana and was established in 1948 after the closure of James Town Prison and Ussher Fort prison in Accra. Participants were male inmates who have perpetrated abuse against their intimate partners. According to Maxwell (2005), pilot studies allow the researcher to specifically test ideas and methods to be adopted in a study. The pilot study was conducted to field-test the interview questions. Based on the outcome of the pilot studies, it was confirmed that the interview schedule was good and can be used. This also helped test the relevance and clarity of the questions to avoid misunderstanding. A sample size of 10 was used for the pilot study, this is because the participants were available and willing to participate in interview. The pilot study was not part of the main study. Data were collected through a semi-structured interview schedule. On average, each interview lasted about an hour. This form of interviewing allowed me and the participants to engage in a dialogue whereby I was able to probe interesting and important areas that arose (Smith, 2008).

4.12. Interviews

The study used semi-structured interviews to collect data. The semi-structured interview method is considered an appropriate method of data collection because it allows the researcher to prepare and streamline questions ahead of time, which makes the researcher well prepared, competent and engaging during the interview process (Smith, 2009). Questions were open-ended, clear, neutral and sensitive, and can be based on behaviour or experience, and allow for probes and clarification (Patton, 2002). Semi-structured interviews allow informants the freedom to express their views in their terms and can provide reliable, comparable qualitative data. Thus, semi-structured interviews were conducted with all the participants. Questions on the interview guide were open-ended to allow for probes and clarifications. The questions focused on participants' experiences related to their role as perpetrators of violence against their deceased wives. Examples of some of the key questions posed to the participants: "what informs a man to abuse his female partner"? "How can a man ensure that his partner respects him"? "Do you think "real men" beat their partners? "should a woman seek permission from

the partner before engaging in any activity? “Do you think male partners suffer abuse in intimate relationship? “what advice would you give to other men who are still abusing their partners? “How does society/family perceive or treat perpetrators? “Do you think there is an accurate statistic on male perpetrators in this region? “In your opinion, what type of abuse do women suffer most, and why?” “What do you think about male partners abusing their partners?” The observation was made during the interview process by noting participants' visible emotional expressions such as disappointment and weeping. The semi-structured interview guide served as a guide relating to key questions and remarks to the participants. I took notes throughout the process to ensure that I would not miss all the critical points being made by the participants. These were to be revisited later when I engaged and analyzed the data.

4.13. Reliability and Validity of Interview Data

According to Patton (2002), validity and reliability are two factors that any qualitative researcher should consider while designing a study, analyzing results and judging the quality of the study. Reliability and validity have been described as the technical terms that address issues of objectivity and credibility in research (Silverman, 2011). Enhancing objectivity or reliability comprises efforts to ensure the accuracy and inconclusiveness of recordings that the research is based on while ensuring validity addresses issues of interpretation and observations in terms of whether or not observations have been correctly named (Silverman, 2010). To ensure that the findings of this research are reliable, I accurately documented all observations relevant to the study that were made in the course of the data collection process, also to make sure that the findings of the study are valid, data was cross-checked by an independent auditor who was a colleague postgraduate student specializing in the area of community psychology. Smith (2003) states that in qualitative research, a measure that can be adopted to ensure validity is to allow for an independent auditor. The independent auditor, usually a researcher who played no role in the study, certifies that the analysis produced is credible and justified with the collected data. The auditor played no role in this study and at the time she got involved I had completed the analysis of the data. Her role was to ascertain that the claims that were being made were valid. A report from the independent auditor proved that conclusions drawn were justified by data collected from respondents. According to Maxwell (2005, p.244), “participants’ validation which refers to soliciting feedback or conclusions from research participants serves as an important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the

meaning of what participants say and do. It also provides a way for the researcher to identify personal biases and misunderstandings of observations made during data collection”. In this study, I ensured that I understood the participants by checking with them at the end of the interview that what I heard was correct.

Reliability and validity in quantitative research usually refer to credibility which is found in the construction of instrument(s) (Golafshani, 2003). In a qualitative study, the researcher is the instrument (Patton, 2000), the credibility of the instrument depends largely on the ability and effort of the researcher (Golafshani, 2003). Therefore, the ability and effort exerted by a researcher determine whether the data are valid or reliable during qualitative studies. In the same vein, in qualitative studies, biases are expected to be absent for the findings to be considered reliable. Opare-Henaku (2006) asserts that reliability in qualitative studies does not imply getting the same results, rather it requires reporting and proper documentation of events. Additionally, the concepts of consistency and dependability have both been related to the concept of reliability in qualitative research (Clont, 1992; Seale, 1999). Therefore, to ensure reliability in the study, there was adequate documentation of events, examination and verification of the data which ensures its consistency, precision, replication, and verification. Other scholars of the qualitative paradigm have developed their concepts of validity to mean these three core concepts: quality, rigor, and trustworthiness (Davies & Dodd, 2002; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001). Similarly, some scholars explain rigour as exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing (Davies & Dodd, 2002). Silverman (2000) equates validity to the truth which includes clarity and accuracy of circumstance that precede data creation.

For this reason, for validity (clarity), I conducted a pilot study with male perpetrators of abuse at the James Camp prison to fine-tune the interview guide to the aims of the present study. The pilot study aided me to identify potential biases and values that could directly or indirectly impact on the responses of participants to the interview questions. Therefore, I made a conscious effort to avoid biases and personal beliefs during the actual interview. I documented the events, examined the data to ensure that the objective of the study was answered, which was to find out the motivations of male perpetrators in perpetuating abuse against their female partners. This involved asking participants the same set of questions and at the same time making the questions flexible enough to give room to emerging ideas.

4.14. Data Analysis

4.14.1. Research Design and Justification

The present study adopted the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith et al., 2009). I deemed IPA to be appropriate as it allowed me to explore the lived experiences of the respondents and to gain insight into their experiences as a) perpetrators of gender-based violence and b) officers who handle cases of gender-based violence. The IPA is based on the fundamental principles of phenomenology, hermeneutics and ideography (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012). The philosophical assumption of phenomenology suggests that human beings are 'self - interpreting beings', so reality changes from person to person. Therefore, to understand a phenomenon the subjective perspective of individuals involved is crucial (Smith et al., 2009, Taylor, 1985). Hermeneutics talks about the ascribed meanings or interpretations of one's experiences (Smith, 2007). There are two types of interpretations of experiences in IPA. The first is the interpretation participants ascribe to their personal experiences whilst the second is the researcher's interpretation of participants' experiences as he/she immerses himself/herself in the participants' experiences. This is called double hermeneutics (Smith, 2007). The final principle, idiography, involves the case by case analysis of participants' experiences. This allows for an in-depth analysis of each participants' experience in their respective contexts (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012).

Hence, adopting the IPA, I conducted in-depth interviews with male perpetrators of abuse against women and officers who handle cases of gender-based violence to explore their subjective experiences, analysed each participant's experience within context to make meaning of each experience and, then, gathered these experiences together for a generic interpretation of the subject matter. The data were transferred onto my personal computer after the interview sessions to preserve the originality of information. The IPA framework for analyzing qualitative material was used to analyze the data (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012; Smith et al., 2009). Each transcript went through a thorough analysis to extract emerging themes after which all emerging themes were synchronized.

I read through each script several times to familiarize myself with the data. I was able through this iterative exercise to identify the relevant aspects of the data concerning the research questions. Transcripts were analyzed for similarities and differences in experiences expressed. Data were then grouped into themes and sub-themes and further analyzed for patterns and

interrelationships. Themes and sub-themes are provided in the results with supporting quotations from participants.

4.15. Ethical Considerations

Silverman (2006) asserts that all the steps of the research process; the designing of the research project, data gathering and analysis, through to documentation, demand that all relevant ethical issues are observed by the researcher. Ethical approval ensures respect for the rights of all voluntary participants in the study; adherence to standard ethical guidelines and regulation in the conduct of scientific research. In line with this, ethical clearance was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Ghana (reference number: RPN 003/CSIR-IRB/2017; dated, April 26, 2017). The ethical clearance from CSIR was used to obtain authorisation and administrative permissions from the authorities of both the Prisons Headquarters and the Regional Police Headquarters in the Greater Accra Region for the interview of convicted male participants and the key informants respectively. I also obtained ethical clearance from the ethics committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of South Africa (reference number: PERC-1677; dated 16th November 2016).

Written informed consent was obtained from all study participants before commencing each interview. Literate participants appended their signatures to the forms and illiterate participants provided verbal consent. There were some challenges encountered during the interview sessions. This revolved around willingness to participate in the study, confidentiality, and the disclosure and benefit of the study.

Voluntary participation: I made it clear that participation was voluntary, and the participants would not be penalised for not participating in the study.

Confidentiality: I used pseudonyms to ensure anonymity and to protect their privacy.

Benefits of the study: Their participation in the study would shed more light on factors that lead to the perpetration of violence against women. Also, their experiences and narratives would assist us to better understand men's perspectives on gender-based violence and consequently contribute towards the body of knowledge on this topic and to possibly influence policy as well.

A debriefing session was held with all the participants as a group to allow them to express their feelings and thoughts about the session. They expressed their gratitude for having shared with me their experiences and emotions. They were asked about what they had learned from the activity, to which they all agreed that the activity had been an eye-opener to them.

4.16. Personal reflexivity

According to Shaw (2010), a researcher is a living and experiencing human being; reflexivity is crucial, particularly, in qualitative research because the researcher's "challenge-to-competence" may influence the research (p. 236) process. Greenway (2010) explains that reflexivity in qualitative research accounts for the researcher's voice through the research process since there is a possibility that the researcher's experiences may influence the process from data collection to analysis. Mansfield (2006) points out that reflexivity is "an examination of the filters and lenses with which a researcher views the world" (p. 13). Applied to this study, I am a Ghanaian married woman and a mother of four young men and a young woman. As a Ghanaian trained social psychologist, I am a regular resource person on both radio and national television shows which offer me the opportunity to interact with men and women who have issues in their social relationships and marriages. My background as the wife of a Ghanaian man and a mother of four young men and having been brought up amongst eight male siblings gives me a wealth of knowledge and rich familial experiences about how men relate to women in the Ghanaian domestic context.

Furthermore, before embarking on this doctoral research project, I had also had considerable experience as a practicing Social Psychologist, working as a resource person for non-governmental organizations, including churches and other faith-based groups, and various social advocacy groups in Ghana - making me a critical thinker and an advocate of peoples' rights, particularly women's rights. Considering these background experiences, I was aware that when interviewing male respondents, I needed to assume the posture of a researcher (not necessarily as a women's rights advocate), 'putting aside' my prejudices and reactions and paying attention to respondents, and seeing things from their perspective. Practically, it was not entirely possible to maintain objectivity – in the positivist sense. Thus, in the interpretation

of the data, I adopted both a realist and constructivist posturing to focus primarily on the reported realities, experiences and meanings of the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Additionally, this posturing accommodated my contextual experiences of the Ghanaian cultural realities as critical to the interpretation of nuances of the data. That said, I am also aware that my background as a native of the Ghanaian culture and experiences as a wife, a mother and a practicing Social Psychologist in Ghana could blur the interpretation of the data – for example, I might unwittingly assume portions of the data as commonplace and take them for granted. However, I believe that such researcher biases may be minimal given that frequent prompts and comments from my supervisor, who is from South Africa, helped me to reflect on my interpretive assumptions. Thus, even though my researcher objectivity and neutrality may not be fully guaranteed, my higher commitment to ensuring transparency in the construction of meanings of the data was central to the analysis.

I was ready for the challenge and I felt confident that I could cope with the male inmates because of my experience in interacting with abusive and violent men in my work as a Psychologist. Nevertheless, I was not naïve about the risky environment I found myself. I was, therefore, very mindful of the way I dressed and my approach to interacting with the inmates. Interestingly, the Officer – in Charge (II) also cautioned me to dress appropriately in long pants or jeans pants so I do not draw attention onto myself since there are predatory and sexually deprived inmates in the prison house. As an academic, I prefer to think about prison as a place for reformation rather than punishment. This impacted on the way I was able to navigate with maximum ease through the entire duration of the data collection. Although I felt at ease within the premises of the prison establishment, I would like to caution any researcher or an academic to be very careful when interacting or relating to inmates, since most of them are angry about their condition and therefore could be violent. Hence, the need for one to consider obtaining protection from the establishment to interact with inmates.

4.17. Summary of Chapter four

Chapter four provides the methodological process adopted in the study. It engages processes followed in selecting the participants, how data was collected, and the analysis process adopted

to make meaning of the transcribed material. Furthermore, it provides the processes of obtaining ethical approval which ensures respect for the rights of all voluntary participants in the study and provides the steps followed to obtain objectivity and credibility of the research. Finally, it provides the reflexivity of the researcher.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I offer the results that emanated from the interviews I conducted with male perpetrators of violence against women and some officials at DOVVSU. A total of 22 convicted men and five officers of DOVVSU were the participants of the study. Three convicted male participants, after accepting to participate in the interview, later withdrew from the interview process with the explanation that, they were uncomfortable talking about their experience. This study sought to explore the reasons/motivations for male perpetration of abuse against women.

I employed interpretative phenomenological analysis to make meaning of the data. Seven main themes emerged from the interviews with male perpetrators. Three themes emerged from the key informants (DOVSUU Officers) which are going to be discussed with relevant supporting quotations from respondents to buttress the findings of the study. In situations where all respondents answered to the same theme, the dominant and relevant quotations were presented to buttress that theme. The first part of the results will focus on the male perpetrators and the second will look at the results from interviews with officers.

The table provides a summary of the themes that emanated from interviews with male perpetrators.

Table 3 *Themes for Participants*

Major theme	Sub-theme
Differences in perceived gender role ideology	– Superiority of men to women – “Women know your place”: Gender role perception
Bride price	– Ownership/entitlement – Bride price as a symbol of honour for women
Childhood experience/witness of abuse	Witnessing /suffering abuse as a child in the family
“She is very disrespectful”-victim blaming	

Perpetrators' abuse of substance	
Bureaucracy as a barrier to receiving government support	Attitudinal barriers
The importance of education and holding perpetrators accountable	Being accountable for your actions

5.2 Theme 1: Differences in perceived gender role ideology

Evidence abounds that violence against women is primarily associated with gender inequality and rigid and inequitable gender norms (UN Economic and Social Council, 2013). It is argued that men's attitudes and beliefs linked to women's rights and gender equality show wider structural inequalities that influence men's use of violence against women. Gender inequality is seen in all levels of the Ghanaian society. There are still preferences for boys to girls. For example, there is a saying in the Akan language that *"when a woman gives birth to a boy, then she has given birth to a human being, but having a baby girl is unfortunate"*. There are disparities in education, employment, acquisition of land and property, and women have less access to an economic resource which can assist them to attain their economic and social objectives as compared to their male counterparts in Ghana. Despite the provision made in the 1992 constitution of Ghana to have more women in politics, there is a lack of women representation in Parliament (Ghana Web, 2019). Currently, there are 36 women in Ghana's parliament. This represents 12.75 per cent from both the majority and minority sides, a clear short of the 30 per cent representation set by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (Ghana Web, 2019). The participants in this study explained that growing up in a patriarchal society, they believe men are superior to women in all spheres of life. The perception of inequality between sexes includes physical and mental strength, gender role perception, and placing a lesser value on women. Two sub-themes were identified, the *"superiority of men to women"* and *"gender role perception"*.

Superiority of men to women:

The superiority of men to women is explained through perceiving a man as the head of the family which then gives him the capacity to exercise power and control over women.

Participants expressed their strong belief that to control or discipline a woman was justifiable. This view emerged from a consensus by all the participants.

When people across all ages and genders have a belief system about their prescribed roles in society, it endorses norms that perpetuate gender inequality, and by extension, creates interpersonal violence.

The following statements are a few of the sampled views of respondents:

“In our culture the men are the heads of the family, so a woman needs to show respect and obey the man at all times, otherwise that woman will call trouble for herself. If you a man and your partner is so disrespectful, society blames you or people would say the woman has done “juju on you” (cast a spell on someone. Belief in superstition). (participant 22)

There is a cultural expectation that women acquiesce to men especially concerning husbands' desires and demands. According to an informant,

Every wife or partner is under the man. The man is the head of the house, so he has every authority over the woman; therefore, the woman ought to obey everything the man says. This is the order in every marriage in our culture. (participant 4).

Participant 21 also said,

“...As you are aware, our society expects that women should be obedient to their partners in all respects. Even if the female partner is richer and more educated than her male partner...”

It can be deduced from the responses above that, acceptable gender-inequitable social norms, particularly those that associate notions of manhood to dominance and aggression, are factors that support violence against women. Jewkes (2002) believes that gender inequitable societies are more likely to normalise violence against women. Similarly, Jewkes et al. (2002) assert that the general level of tolerance of violence against women in a community is a strong predictor of the rates of IPV in that community. We live in a society where there is a broad social acceptance of violence as a way to resolve conflict.

The *participants* are talking about men being the head of the family, and how culture and the Bible support this. *participant 14 has this to say:*

The world and our society see a man as superior to a woman. Man is the head of the woman and the family. Even the Bible says that women are the weaker sex and that a

husband is the head of the wife, so this is what creates the problem of abuse towards female partners or women in general.

The narratives above seem to indicate that religion and faith-based traditions are indicators of violence against women. It can be inferred from *participants* of the study that they place great emphasis on men's supremacy and women's submissiveness. They believe that men are meant to be superior to women, and, therefore, must be in charge of the family and household decisions. These perceptions are supported by their religious and cultural beliefs as they quote the Bible to show how being superior to women is something society has to accept. It would appear that neither economic standing nor level of education plays a role in the status of the women in the family. It is, therefore, critical to further interrogate the role of religion and cultural views in how gender inequality continues to be perpetuated.

Most pastors, church leaders and laymen have used excerpts from the Bible to subject women to a docile position. For example, in the book of Ephesians 5:21-26, it reads,

Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ. Wives, be subject to your husbands as you are to the Lord for the husband is the head of the wife, just as Christ is the head of the church, the body of which He is the saviour. Just as the church is subject to Christ, so also wives ought to be, in everything submit to their husbands. Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her (The Holy Bible, New American Standard Bible).

Religion plays an important role in the Ghanaian worldview of social pursuits as it permeates every social sphere of the individual life, from family, public, private, political to economic life (Nukunya, 2003). Similarly, Stump (2008) argues that religion plays a vital role in the cultural life of different spaces. It is deeply rooted in people's experiences and influences the socioeconomic and political direction of societies. In parallel with this argument, a study by Klingorova and Havilcek (2015) confirm that religion significantly affects the status of women and the state of gender inequality, since it seeks to regulate the role of women in certain aspects of social and political life in a given society. Furthermore, Koch and Ramirez (2009) conducted a study to explore the relationship between religious behaviour, religious beliefs, and intimate violence, findings indicated that Christian fundamentalism was positively associated with both violence approval and acts of intimate partner violence. However, the study further showed that general religiosity, measured as belief in God, the strength of religious faith, church

attendance and frequency of prayer was not associated with violence approval, psychological aggression or intimate partner violence.

Numerous scholarships have researched the possible influence of religion in legitimating or reducing the likelihood of committing intimate partner violence. For example, Nason-Clark (1997, 2000) speculated that traditionalist or patriarchal religious ideologies may legitimize or refuse to adequately condemn the practice of intimate partner violence. Many religious and spiritual groups share common values and beliefs about relationships, for example, the sanctity of marriage, the role of the wife in the relationship, rehabilitation of abusers, and about roles obligation. These values and the traditional belief system which support patriarchal structure influence perpetrators' abuse against their female partners.

Sixteen of the 22 respondents were of the view that men are physically stronger and mentally sharper than women. Men are different in terms of physical strength, abilities, interests, and mentality thus they are evaluated differently when exhibiting the same behaviour.

The following extracts are a few of the sampled views:

Men are stronger than women, so they always overpower the women and subdue them..... (participants 5)

You know women are weak, they are not strong, so some men beat their partners just for beating's sake. I mean some men beat their partners to show them [their female partners] that they [men] are superior and that men and women are not equal participant 22).

participants 4 added

"But frankly speaking, women suffer more physical abuse. The reason is that women are the weaker sex and therefore not physically strong. No matter the strength of a woman, she cannot fight a man or her male partner".

The narratives above reflect how participants perceive their female partners as the weaker sex and not physically strong which compels some respondents to batter their partners to demonstrate their power and control over the female partners.

Their responses describe the villainous roles men play within their intimate relationships, their communities, and the society at large. According to Dodoo and Frost (2008), husbands

continue to wield wide-ranging authority over their wives in sub-Saharan Africa. However, narratives from five of the 22 participants expressed a contrary view that men who beat their partner are rather weak and may not be mentally stable. It presupposes that there is great diversity in the beliefs of men, although some men abuse their female partners, others do not do so. Some men practice a set of rigid social controls that forbid and strongly sanction violence against women.

Some men hold on to the egalitarian ideology or practice alternative forms of masculinities that support equitable power-sharing practices between men and women. Nevertheless, although these men believe in equitable power-sharing, they feel threatened if their female partner should be more educated, financially sound or physically stronger than them, then the male partners try to establish their supremacy by abusing the female partner eventually. In other words, these men ascribe to gender equality in the abstract but less so in practice. This is reflected in the response below:

Let me tell you madam, men who beat their partners are rather weak and mentally unstable like myself. My partner [wife] was physically stronger than me, so I always tried to beat her just to reassure myself as the head of the house (participant 6).

Responses from male perpetrators indicated that they beat or abuse their female partners to establish their (sense of) supremacy and authority over their partners. Men who abuse and exercise control over their female partners, and perceive they possess lower relational power, and this influences their act of violence against their partners. According to Hearn (1998, 37), “violence is a resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man.” Similarly, Dobash and Dobash (1998) found that men use violence to punish female partners who failed to meet their unspoken physical, sexual or emotional needs.

Participants have perceived women as perpetual children who never grow up, and therefore must be beaten, controlled, and exercised whatever means they felt necessary to achieve this domination. A woman is expected to obey a man’s command and the husband was allowed, even advised to punish her for any deviation in the form of beating and abusing her. It can be argued that these are beliefs of the Ghanaian man that stem from traditions and social norms which promote male dominance and female subordination to men.

“ Woman, know your place ” : Gender role perception

Men go and work to provide for the family. Women get pregnant and take care of the home. Each has his/her role to play in the relationship. Nowadays, society is confusing everything, and this brings about abuse in many relationships and marriages. There is so much confusion eh! (participant 17).

In this study, gender role perception is explained as one's belief regarding the proper roles for men and women in the relationship (Kroska, 2017) The cultural construction of masculinity and femininity in the Ghanaian society includes a belief in fundamental biological distinctions between male and female human nature and corresponding behavioural prescription (Adinkrah 2010). These are usually expressed in community norms and values and are often used to maintain social control over women and children (Abu,1991; Nukunya, 2003).

According to 18 of 22 *participants* gender role perception was seen as the different roles that men and women play in society. The man goes out to work to provide for his home or family, while the woman stays at home to care for the children. This is evident in the following extract:

It is evident from the statement above that, the Ghanaian woman's primary role in society is to be a wife and a mother (Sefa-Dede & Canetto, 1992). Therefore, transgressions of her expected role are the primary cause of abuse against her, based on the sentiments shared by the participants above. It may be argued that when a woman engages in paid work outside the home, it poses a threat to the man and could lead to abuse against the woman. The statement below points to this possibility of abuse:

When a wife's lifestyle threatens the man or the man is threatened by the wealth of the woman, it can create tension in the relationship. As you are aware, society has assigned roles for men and women. A woman is supposed to be in the kitchen to take care of the children and the husband, and the men are supposed to go out and work and bring money to provide for the family. But, nowadays most wives are going out to work neglecting the home and the children. They have more money or higher position than their male partners, so they can do many things on their own without needing the help of a man, and this becomes a threat for the man (participant 22).

From the narration above, it is sufficient to say that violence against female partners is rooted in stereotypical ideas about women and how society places less value on the woman.

Scholarship on intimate and sexual relationships has revealed that men tend to have more relational power than women do (Yoder & Kahn, 1992). Many societies place less value on feminine than masculine behaviours. The acceptance of a gender role attitudes indicates an endorsement of the power differential between men and women which could translate into sexual relationships. If one person has more power, that person is likely to dominate or control the other person in the relationship (Jenkins, 2000; Yoder & Kahn, 1992).

A lesser value on women was explained through equating women to children by the respondents of the study. Therefore, beating a woman was justifiable. According to 19 out of 22 participants of the study, everything relating to women is worth less than men. The idea was expressed in statements such as:

Excuse me, madam. (showing me respect) You know women are like children and they need to be checked or disciplined so that they can straighten up or be respectful, therefore if she needs to be beaten or slapped, the man has to do it to put her in check. I was given the authority by the woman's family to discipline her. In her culture, the women are treated like children so a woman from that culture cannot misbehave towards her husband.

Participants 2 had this to say:

"Also, some women cannot reason on their own, they always ask for help in everything, so this makes some of them like children."

... "ooh! I fight anybody at all, but I beat women (angrily) I do not fight with women; I beat women because women are like children. A man needs to discipline his female partner when she misbehaves" (participant 1)

"No, the man is the head of the household, so he can do anything he wants to do without anybody's permission. The woman is under the man that is all" (participant 5).

In addition to 'having authority over women' as alluded to above, the respondents pointed to how it is permissible for a man to have multiple female sexual partners.

Women are not expected to cheat on their male partners at all. We men can choose to have more than one woman, but a woman cannot and should not have more than one partner. Society frowns on that. Any woman who has more than one man is given names such as a prostitute or a witch (participant 5).

The female partner has to make sure that she gives her man sex at all times. Also, if the female partner disobeys her partner, this can create problems in the house and can cause the man to abuse the woman. (participant 4)

It could be deduced from the narratives above that participants hold on to entrenched traditional belief system of men's authority and control over their female partners in a relationship or marriage and the subordinate role of the female partner. The man is the head of the family and the woman is expected to show him respect and submit to him and satisfy the man's sexual needs. Therefore, any deviation from these norms by a female partner will result in violence against the woman. The power imbalance between men and women demonstrate patriarchal masculinity and femininity in the Ghanaian society. Wingood and Decrement (2000) argue that structural norms like social norms shape individuals' perceptions of appropriate sexual behaviours for men and women, setting up double standards that allow men more sexual freedom than women.

5.3 Theme 2: Bride Price

Bride price refers to the payment that a prospective groom and his family make to a prospective bride's family (Adjei, 2016b; Anderson, 2007). Customarily, bride price payment serves to validate customary marriages in most African societies (Thiara & Hague, 2011). In recent times, the payment of bride price is now rigorously negotiated by the families of the groom and the bride (Osei, 2002), contrary to what pertained in the past, whereas it was the groom and his family usually decided on what and how much to pay, and this would be voluntarily and willingly paid to the family of the bride. For instance, evidence abounds that the bride price custom indemnifies the bride's family for the loss of her (re)productive services to her husband's family, solidifies the new affinal bonds created by marriage and legitimises children born to the union, therefore, any marriage that does not involve the payment of the bride price is considered as casual sex (Muthegheki et al., 2012; Thiara & Hague, 2011). According to Matembe (2004), the custom of bride price influences violence in intimate relationships, particularly in Africa. Scholars have argued with empirical support that the motivations, processes, and outcomes of the bride price custom are gendered and reinforce male dominance and female subordination in marriage (Kaye et al., 2005). As a result, the bride price institution is believed to support patriarchy by perpetuating the low status of women and keeping them in eternal bondage. For instance, according to Mangena and Ndlovu (2013), a woman whose

bride price is paid is commoditized and her husband may choose to treat her the way he wants. In Ghana, every culture values the bride price, the bride price has a two-edged sword, it is perceived as a symbol of honor, self-worth and an important part of womanhood to the bride and her family. Also, it is perceived by the groom as a tradition for accomplishing desired masculinity and symbol of entitlement or ownership of the bride. Two sub-themes were identified under this theme: ownership/entitlement, and honour.

Ownership of women by their male partners

The beliefs of participants about women or their female partners indirectly place women as acquired possessions by their male partners or men to be looked after. Ownership of the bride or partner was explained as the rights acquired by the man or the husband when he pays the bride price. Nineteen of the 22 participants expressed the view that the payment of the bride price gives them the right of ownership and sexual entitlement to their partners or wives' bodies. These beliefs led to most of the participants abusing their partners. Take, for example, these statements:

“Once it is the man who pays the bride price, the woman becomes his own. He owns the woman; therefore, he must know whatever the woman is doing or wherever she may be going.

Once you marry a woman, she becomes part of you. She is your flesh and bones. Adam, in the bible, says the woman is the flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. Therefore, the man must know everything about the woman. Even if she is choosing her friends, her husband must know about it. He goes to ask the lady's hand in marriage, he pays the bride price, so automatically it is the man who is in charge or in control of the woman (participant 22).

From the above quotes, participants constructed the payment of bride price as giving men the right to control their wives and female partners. Women are practically exchanged and subsequently become subordinated to men in the home. It is inferred from participants that the custom symbolises a system of reciprocity that results in a complicated power relationship between male partners and their female partners or wives. The response of respondents demonstrates how intrinsically participants interpreted the practice of the bride price as a form of buying a female partner or a wife. When participants position the practice of the bride price in the light of purchasing the woman, it influences their motivation to abuse and perpetrates violence against their female partners in their marriages or relationships. Adjei (2018) argues

that a sense of entitlement by male partners could subsequently reinforce the belief that spousal violence is morally justified and appropriate.

According to Armstrong (2010), in many African countries, a woman is considered bought and owned by a man after the payment of bride price. As such, she has no say in how she is treated by her husband or partner.

Participants 3 added that.

Madam, you know, it is the man who pays the Bride Price of the woman. So somehow the man has bought the woman. The woman is now for the man and no other man. A woman does not pay any bride price.

“.... Your partner or wife has been entrusted to you by her relatives, so she becomes like your property” (participant 17).

It is the man who pays the bride price to marry the woman and to take care of her, so she becomes like a child to care for. Also, some women cannot reason on their own they always ask for help in everything, so this makes some of them like children. When it comes to sexual relationships with my partner, I believe she has to make sure she gives sex anytime I ask for it so it does not matter whether I see her as a child or not” (participant 2).

The tradition of the bride price is positioned as a trajectory of the moral obligation of men; it is a tradition that men have to achieve as a marker of a man’s responsibility; and as a man’s future ability to provide for his wife or partner (Adjei & Mpiani, 2018). It can be deduced from the narratives above that societal norms in Ghana ascribe to the belief that a woman must always be under the guardianship of a man. It is implied from the narratives of the participants that the practice of the bride price is perceived as a social system to project masculine identity in society and for achieving desired masculinity and femininity, encouraging husbands exercise of matrimonial control over their wives (Adjei & Mpiani, 2018).

When perpetrators objectify their partners, they demand sex from them against their will, and any refusal from their female partners can result in abuse. In this context the female partner cannot refuse the male partner sex if he so desires it, any attempt by the female partner or wife to refuse sex can result in the partner raping or beating the female partner (Armstrong, 2010).

Bride price as a symbol of honour for women

Adjei (2012) observes that African women appreciate the custom of the bride price and consider it as an important source of honour/pride and prestige for a prospective bride and her extended family. In the current study, the participants explained honour as the pride and respect every woman acquires for herself and her family when she is married. Fourteen of the 22 participants were of the view that every woman wants to be “attached” to a man, therefore even when the partner is abusing her she still stays with the partner, because societal norms frown on a woman who separates from her partner or husband. Consider this statement:

I think our traditional beliefs are a factor. A woman is more dignified or respected if she is married or has a man in her life. So, it becomes difficult when a female partner is being abused by her partner to leave that abusive relationship. Her family and sometimes her religion frowns or forbid separation of any sort. The bride price means the woman cannot terminate her marriage or relationship; she is expected to live in that relationship till death separates the two of them (participants 5).

Customarily, the bride price plays an important role in conferring social status on both men and women in society (Adjei, 2019). It is a custom that confers a culturally recognized identity and honor on "womanhood" (Adjei, 2019). The importance of family identity and brides' moral obligation to preserve the social image of themselves and the extended family motivate perpetrators' violence against their female partners.

From the quotes above, participants construct the practice of bride price as a means to both stabilise the marriage and discourage separation or divorce, as well as bring prestige or positive social image to a bride's family. As a participant puts it,

I always say that society has made women believe or think that they are social misfits or not honourable if the customary rites of the bride price have not been performed for them. Therefore, some women feel pressured to do everything they can to be married even if the relationship is potentially abusive (participant 9).

It can be inferred from the narratives that perpetrators believe that it is the responsibility of their female partners to stabilise the marriage or make it succeed. Perpetrators think this way because traditionally, families in Ghana play a significant role in the marriage process of their children and, therefore, hold a moral responsibility to make sure their children, particularly their daughters succeed in marriage to bring honour and respect to the family. Also, the members of the family, especially the women/brides also have reciprocal responsibilities to

uphold and keep the social identity of the family consequently, these women/brides indirectly have the moral obligation to make sure that they succeed in the marriage to bring honor to herself and a good social image to her family as well.

The narratives from participants further imply that the identity of women, their sense of self-worth in the relationship/marriage is measured in terms of the bride price paid by the man, which subsequently makes the woman/bride and her family indebted to the man. As a result, she is expected to stay even in an abusive marriage or relationship, amidst the rape, beating and acts of violence against her till death separate the two parties. In other words, the bride price 'ties the woman down in the marriage or the relationship and could be argued that it reinforces the belief of perpetrators to perpetrate violence against their female partners.

The traditional expectation of a woman is that she should settle in marriage at a certain age, and in many communities in Ghana, hold to a belief that a woman is not wholly independent unless she is attached to a man. Rosen (1961) asserts that romantic ideals, cultural messages about getting and maintaining the relationship "at all costs" for women, and love story fantasies undergird contexts where staying in an abusive relationship becomes deeply entangled with personal identities for women. Hence, the perpetuation of violence against women.

5.4 Theme 3: Childhood experience/witness of abuse

Evidence from different studies has shown that there is a strong link between experiencing/witnessing abuse and later the likelihood of committing IPV (Yount et al., 2015). Additionally, various studies (Stith et al., 2000, Wathen & MacMillan, 2013, Widom et al., 2014) note that children who witness or experienced violence between their parents or boys and girls who grow up in a home where there is violence are at a higher risk of experiencing (for women) or perpetrating (for men) partner violence in adulthood. Most participants narrated experiencing/witnessing of childhood abuses in their formative years.

Witnessing/suffering abuse as a child in the family

Witnessing violence within the family can be distressing to children. It is associated with problems of the likelihood of becoming a perpetrator of abuse in adult life. Sixteen participants reported that they witnessed the abuse of their mothers by their fathers. They saw their mothers slapped in the face or threatened with an object. Below are some reflections from participants:

“Growing up, I saw my father always drinking and fighting my mother all the time” (participant 13).

“In my village you see men beating their partners or wives all the time. It is not strange, it is accepted. Yeah!” (participant 18).

Their upbringing plays a factor in how they relate to women in general and their partners. I’m saying this because when I was growing, I witnessed my father beating our mother, my mother never fought back, rather she will protect my father and tell us that it’s her fault that my father hit her (participant 20).

“My mother feared and respected my father very much. She treated my father like a king. Even when my father beat her; she would just go and cry in her bedroom without saying anything to my father” (participant 22).

My mother used to beat me a lot. I did not like school too much, so I was creating problems for her. I was beaten every day. ‘Look at my teeth. It is broken because my father hit hard on my face and broke my teeth (participant 18).

The narratives above by the participants reflect their experiences as children in an abusive environment and home. A respondent explained how he was beaten in front of his classmates at school, whilst another respondent spoke about his mother beating him daily. Childhood experiences and witnessing of abuse impact on the adult life of the individual. Myers (1986) argues that children who grow up observing physically aggressive models in their family, culture and the mass media often imitate the behaviour they see. Evidence abounds that witnessing or experiencing abuse as a growing child is one of strongest indicator of partner abuse (Abrahams et al., 2006; Abramsky et al., 2011; Barker et al., 2011, 2013; Dunkle et al., 2004b; Fulu et al, 2013; Fleming et al., 2015; Yount et al., 2014, 2015).

Even though the focus of the present study is on men’s perpetration of violence against their female partners, responses from the participants indicate that they experienced and witnessed various forms of violence in their childhood years, many of whom were victims of violence in their childhood. Scholars have argued that witnessing abuse is more important than experiencing abuse in the form of beating (Abrahams et al., 2006). Furthermore, Yount et al., (2015) found that there is a robust relationship between experiencing/witnessing abuse and the future likelihood of committing partner abuse. To understand this phenomenon, many scholars

adopt the social learning theory to explain the relationship, that witnessing violence teaches men that violence is a means to resolving conflicts, fights, and frustration (Heise, 1998). Furthermore, it teaches boys and men that violence is acceptable and proper in asserting power (Contreras et al. 2012). It can be inferred from the narratives above that participants believe it is acceptable and justifiable to abuse their female partner or wife because this is what they have known and learned in their growing years. They have witnessed their fathers beat or hit their mothers or abused their mothers emotionally or physically and therefore, doing the same as male partners or men was considered normal. According to Jewkes (2002), IPV is a 'learned social behaviour' (p.1426) and is intergenerational, i.e., sons who see domestic violence at home are more likely to engage in IPV in the future. Therefore, it can be argued that social tolerance of violent behaviour through witnessing abuse during childhood may imply that partner violence is a result of learned behaviour. The findings reinforced the already documented relationship between men's experience and witness of abuse and their use of violence against their female partners

5.5 Theme 4: “She became very disrespectful”: victim blaming

Considerable evidence suggests that perpetrators who minimize the severity of their actions and blame their victims are also likely to describe their victims as blame worthy (Dutton, 1986; Lila et al., 2008). Victim blaming by perpetrators demonstrates power and control. It equally means that the victim deserves the abuse they suffer. Male perpetrators usually use external attributions to justify their abusive behaviour by blaming their partners or claiming that their partners deserved the abuse because of their offensive personality of disobedience or disrespect towards the male perpetrator (Dutton, 1986; Lila et al., 2008). The findings highlight that perpetrators blamed victims thereby justifying their abusive actions. The expectation that women should be obedient, provide sex whenever a man needs it, *etc.* is reasons given for the abuse as there seems to be an entitlement to women's bodies because they are "owned". Respondents shared experiences where they were provoked to anger by their female partners. They spoke of acts of disobedience and disrespect, denial of sexual intimacy and wifely infidelity. According to the participants, the behaviour and attitudes of their female partners drove them to perpetrate the abuse.

For example, *participant 12* had this to say:

As I was trying to stop her, she threw a very sharp knife at me but fortunately, I escaped so I became very angry and I slapped her, and she fell and died just like that. I did not

do it intentionally, it just happened. I was arrested and prosecuted, and I'm serving my life sentence.

Participants 7 added this:

She became very disrespectful. When I speak to her, she speaks back to me in a disrespectful manner. She provoked me almost every day, so I found myself hitting and beating her all the time. She demonstrated this character when she started working outside the home and flirting with another man in the next village.

Also, participant 1 said this:

When your wife denies you sexual intimacy or disrespects you. Then you want to punish her in any form or manner. She forgets that you married her for sexual intimacy and other things. So, the wife must give her husband sex at all times when he demands it. That one thing [sex] is the most important thing of all, but sometimes some wives forget about it.

Blaming their female partners and not themselves demonstrates perpetrators' supreme self-centeredness, it also serves as a way of protecting their fragile ego. Victim blaming and minimisation of abuse are risk factors for violence against women.

It can be inferred from the responses above that respondents believe they have unconditional power and control over the sexual life and body of their female partners because they believe that it is the responsibility of the female partner to keep her male partner/husband happy sexually and failure to do that can provoke violence against her. It is implied from the responses of the perpetrators that they have an entrenched belief which is, a woman is expected to dutifully see to the welfare of the man, therefore going contrary to that expectation is punishable. This causes the victim-blaming. When perpetrators of abuse take this position and attribute their violence to the behaviour of their victims, chances are that the violence is more likely to be minimised or trivialised and perceived as less unjust and more admissible. Adopting such behaviours exonerates perpetrators of all responsibilities and give the impression that oftentimes female partners are justifiably the victim of intimate partner violence. Victim-blaming behaviours of perpetrators give them an undue advantage and power over their victims and consequently makes them feel justified by acting violently against their victims without any sense of guilt or accountability to society. Male perpetration of violence against women is all about men wanting total control of their female partners. Most male perpetrators in this study believe that it is their right to be in control of every aspect of their relationship. Hence,

the violence against their female partners (mostly, fatal) led to the death of their female partners.

5.6 Theme 5: Perpetrators' abuse of Substance

Consistent data across a number of national surveys indicate that the (mis)use of alcohol is a major risk factor for IPV (Barker et al., 2011, 2013; Heise, 2011). Most of the participants abused some form of substance; twenty participants explained that they abused alcohol because of the nature of their jobs and others said they used alcohol for recreational purposes. According to some of the participants, they were drunk on the day the incident happened and did not know how things turned out. For example, responses from respondent three.

"I take alcohol. Even the day of the incident, my partner and I were drunk, so I do not know how everything happened" (participant 3)

Participant 2 added: I take alcohol just to help get by with my work or to pass the time.

Participants 7 also had this to say, "yeah! I take alcohol and sometimes I smoke something".

Alcohol frequently acts as a disinhibitor, facilitating violence (Bush, 2002). Abrahams et al. (2004) and Dalal et al. (2009) observe that men who misuse alcohol are 1.6 to 4.8 times more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence. It is implied from the narratives of the respondents that their use of alcohol contributed to their aggressive behaviour towards their female partners. There is a common parlance in Ghana that, "if you cannot face your difficulty, hire a lawyer". To hire a lawyer in this context usually means to take an alcoholic drink to give you the courage to face your difficulty. The implication is that some men may intentionally use or misuse alcohol in order to cover up the intentionality of engaging in behaviours that are generally censured or even criminal.

Substance abuse plays a major role in perpetrators' intimate partnerships. Considerable evidence suggests that substance abuse and intimate partner violence link may transcend across generations (Bennett, & Bland-Harrisburg, 2008). For example, adverse childhood experiences, such as witnessing violence or being physically or sexually abused, greatly increases the likelihood of a substance abuse problem as an adult (Dubea et al., 2002). It is inferred from the respondents (male perpetrators) of the present study that their abuse of alcohol for high performance in their work or recreational purposes interfered with their intimate relationship negatively, by influencing them to abuse their partners violently. Alcohol use interferes with

a person's senses to judge social cues, react appropriately, and maintain attention (Klosterman & Fals-Stewart, 2006; Field, et al., 2004). When perpetrators use (or misuse) alcohol, it lowers their inhibitions and clouds their judgement which may lead them to engage in risky behaviours such as abusing their female partners. In other words, men always want to have their way. Perpetrators are more likely than non-perpetrators to misperceive the motives of their partners, and therefore may act violently.

5. 7 Theme 6: Bureaucracy as a barrier to receiving government support

Bureaucracy is a way of administratively organising large numbers of people who need to work together. It comprises the division of labor, hierarchy of authority, rules and regulation and impersonality of social relationship and technical competence. Bureaucracy is the coordination of organisational activities for the effective, efficient, and economical provision of services by the public and the private organisation (Smith, 2016). According to Merton (1957), excessive bureaucracy impedes the achievements of the organisation's core missions and therefore becomes less responsive to service users. It is marked by excessive paperwork, fear of innovation, and poor customer service, strict adherence to procedures and low morale.

From the interviews, respondents indicated that accessing help or any form of support from the government designated institution is frustrating and very stressful, making it difficult for them to get the needed support. For example, the response from one of the respondents:

When these officials see you, they already have something in their mind against you, they think of you as a wicked or an evil person. So, they do not pay attention or even listen to what you have to say. They will just toss you up and down wasting your time and money. (participant 5).

Participants indicated that they face systemic challenges in accessing government support due to bureaucratic processes in the system. They complained about the attitudes of some officials towards the execution of government policies or laws which become a barrier to participants in accessing the government's support and services. Furthermore, they lose money in going back and forth to the law courts for their petition with no result in addition to suffering stigmatisation.

Attitudinal barriers

In this study, attitudinal barriers are behaviours, perceptions and assumptions of service providers that are dismissive and could prevent a male perpetrator from seeking the needed

service. A participant lamented that they are not able to obtain support from government and society at large because service providers do not treat them very well in assisting them with the needed support. *Participant 8* said:

"Nobody understands any perpetrator. Society neglects perpetrators and the family sees you as an evil person or a killer. It is very sad. You are always lonely and angry with the world" (*participant 8*).

Participants 1 added this:

"Nobody wants to have anything to do with you. Society neglects you so also is your own family. You do not get help from anybody" (*participant 1*).

Attitudes and stereotypical behaviour of government officials towards perpetrators hinder their access to legal relief. Participants spoke about systemic and societal barriers hindering them in trying to access legal support. They are often viewed as sub-citizens and, therefore, ignored by government officials in charge of policy implementations or law enforcement. According to respondents, when they attempt to access any government assistance, they are profiled and labelled by all kinds of names which makes it difficult for them to get the necessary help. Shame seems to be a major barrier in accessing any service from family or society. The destruction or taking away someone else's life is frowned upon by families and society at large. When this happens, male perpetrators find it difficult to receive any form of assistance from their own families and even society.

5.8 Theme 7: The importance of education and holding perpetrators accountable

In this current study, education means the creation of awareness and advocacy campaigns to communities and the society about the need to end the violence against women. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2015a) states that education plays a particularly important and formative role in society and represents a global common good. It can contribute to the development of peaceful and prosperous societies and can promote good governance. The international community has accepted that education plays a critical role in empowering children to become active participants in the transformation of their societies and that learning should include a focus on values, attitudes and behaviours that will enable individuals to live together in a world that is diverse and plural

Seventeen respondents were of the view that educating the public on social norms that support violence against women was very critical in eliminating violence against women. Below are sample quotes:

“First, the society needs to be educated including our chiefs and elders on these social norms and traditional expectations of our women which are the causes of all this violence or abuse of women” (participant 4).

“All of us, I mean the whole society needs education on this evil....” (participant 9).

Participant 11 also added:

I think before you marry, your parents should advise and tell you all the truth in marriage. Churches and pastors should preach all the truth about marriage to couples and the society should provide a school purposely for marriage. All these can help prevent violence in any marriage or any relationship.

Narratives of respondents above indicate that the way forward in eliminating violence against women is through education. Education serves as a socialising system that is crucial in transforming the social, psychological and emotional growth of people. Therefore, education could be used to transform behaviours and attitudes and broader cultural norms of violence and gender equality. It must challenge cultural norms that support male authority and control over women. To enhance understanding of the root causes and reasons for the violence against women, education should start from the homes, schools, communities, churches, the National House of Chiefs, and society.

5.9 Theme 8: Being accountable for your actions

Accountability is explained as male perpetrators held to account by the state instead of perpetrators taking responsibility for their behaviour. Nineteen participants indicated that holding perpetrators accountable for their violence will serve as a deterrent from engaging in any form of violence against women. For example, some indicated that most of the time the victims do not report the abuse, and even when they report it to their family or the police, they fail to hold the perpetrator accountable. Below are some of the statements made by the respondents.

You know when we abuse the women and they do not report or even when they report and nothing happens, we think we have the right to continue abusing them. But if the

men are held accountable for our actions many casualties could be prevented. I would not find myself here at this time; my partner will also be alive (participant 1).

It can be inferred from the foregoing narratives that, when victims refuse to report cases of abuse to the police or even when they do report and the authorities do not hold perpetrators accountable for their actions it motivates perpetrators to continue with the abuse. Regrettably, the above narratives imply that when there is no intervention, the abuse against women may increase in severity of injury leading to casualties and tragic scenarios where a perpetrator kills his victim. This is because there are no adequate legal sanctions against perpetrators at the first attempt of violence against women. The courts of jurisdiction prefer to use the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) approach, instead of the judicial hammer of the court. This position of the court rather reinforces perpetrators to perpetrate violence against their female partners.

5.10. Findings from interviews with Key informants

Three themes emerged from the interviews: “Taking a stand: women breaking the silence”,

5.10.1. Theme 1: Taking a stand: women breaking the silence

Many women experience various forms of violence in the hands of their male partners. According to a recent report by the United Nations (UN, 2018), 87,000 women were murdered the previous year, and more than half of that number (50,000, or 58%) were killed by intimate partners or family members. Over a third (30,000) of those internationally killed in 2018 were murdered by a current or former intimate partner. In other words, six women are killed every hour by someone they know. Consistent data across several international and national studies indicate that between 1% and 21% of women were victims of sexual abuse before the age of 15 and that the perpetrators were male family members (e.g. fathers, brothers, uncles, & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; WHO, 2005). Also, globally, 7% of women report having been sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner (WHO, 2013). To compare data on violence against women in the year 1998 by WHO, with current data on violence against women (2013), it can conveniently be stated that violence against women is on the rise. In most African countries, there is mounting scientific evidence demonstrating that violence against women is a serious challenge worthy of attention. In South Africa, the participants of the Kopanong declaration conference (2007) reported that after ten years of the constitution coming into force and despite

the ratification of several international human rights instruments, the rights of people who suffer gender violence are still daily violated.

In Ghana, statistical evidence indicates that one in three women has suffered violence at the hand of an intimate partner (Appiah & Cusack 1999). Annual reports from the office of DOVVSU revealed that in 2008 a total of 4463 cases of domestic violence were recorded. Out of this number, 1,920 were assault cases and 538 were cases of threats. The year 2009 recorded 5709 cases of domestic violence and 2,458 were cases of assault and cases of threats were 673. This trend runs through the subsequent years and presently, DOVVSU (2014) recorded 5,212 cases of wife battery and assault and 1667 cases of threats. Some victims suffer in silence while others choose to report the abuse. The interviews conducted with the officers revealed that it is mostly women who report abuse in the home. Most do so when they feel they cannot handle what is going on in the home anymore. As can be seen from the excerpts below:

Key informant 1. It is only the female victims who come in to report, you know, they only come to report when the intensity of the abuse has escalated and has become intolerable and unbearable for them; some also come to report first-time abusers at the first instance that the husband or partner hits, slaps or beats her so that the partner would be cautioned by the Unit.

Key Informant 2. The majority of female victims come to the Unit to complain of battery or assault by their male partners. Women suffer a lot of abuses, not only physical abuse but also economical and psychological abuse.

Key Informant 3. The women victims come to complain most of the time, although there have been a few occasions where men victims have shown up.

Key Informant 4. Women generally report cases of abuse. Because most women/girls are victims of abuse, although men also report abuse, they are just a few who come in to report.

Key Informant 5.

The above excerpts speak to the fact most victims of violence are women and girls. There is increasing empirical support that some men in heterosexual relationships use violence and abusive behaviours to control and dominate women. In Ghana, Boateng and Heeuk (2014) assert that female victims would report abuse to the police when they want the offender to be

caught and punished. Also, female victims are likely to report because crime must be reported, the victims report cases such as these in order to deter other future perpetrators from committing the same crime. Similarly, Birdsey and snowball (2013) in the UK argued that victims with an act of violence supporting their claims may be more likely to report to police because they have a greater awareness of legal options for dealing with domestic violence. Also, these victims report because they are confident the police will respond and less likely to perceive the incident as trivial or unimportant (Birdsey & Snowball, 2013). Furthermore, Boateng & Heeuk (2014) noted that respondents would report their incidents to the police because they want to get help. In the UK, Birdsey & Snowball (2013) observe that female victims go to report cases of abuse only when they realise that their lives and that of their children are in danger, also when their properties are damaged by the perpetrator.

5.10.2. Theme 2: Whose fault is it?

The results indicate that there is a shift of blame between victims and perpetrators of violence. The findings highlight that perpetrators put the blame on victims and thereby justify their abusive actions. Dutton (1986) and Lila et al. (2008) observe that victim-blaming by perpetrators demonstrates power and control, it equally means that the victim deserves the abuse they suffer. The officials indicated that when gathering evidence and doing police investigations on reported cases, they have to contend with contradictory stories they receive from the victims who report the crimes, and the perpetrators who abuse women. The theme “She is very disrespect” points to how victim blaming seems to come across where alternative ways of dealing with disagreements rather than through violence are not sought. As officials indicated as follows:

Key Informant 1. Most male perpetrators allege female partners’ infidelity, denial of sexual intimacy, and women's insubordination as the reason for abuse against their female partner. These male perpetrators complain about their partners demanding too much money and wasting money. Wife/female partner does not respect them, or she is lazy and does not care for the home and children. These are some of the reasons and motivations for the abuse.

Key Informant 2. The victims normally complain about the fact that their partners are very quick-tempered, very jealous and suspicious of them, and very controlling. Some of the victims complain that their partners force to have sex with them. They normally

indicate that their male partners have anger issues, the men abuse alcohol; so, at the slightest provocation they become very abusive. For instance, asking for money for food can provoke anger and beatings from the male partner. Many perpetrators complain about their female partners being disrespectful, refusing them sex, wifely infidelity, and many more reasons. They talk about the fact that the woman does not take care of the home and the children, she goes out all the time making friends and getting bad advice.

Key Informant 3. Victims indicate how their male partners abuse them sexually when victims are tired or even sick. Victims also complain about their male partners as very possessive and very jealous and always accusing them of flirting. Victims complain about insults and economic deprivation as some of the means the perpetrator uses to abuse them. Upon the interrogation of perpetrators, they explain their reason for the abuse: they mention the woman being disobedient, dishonest, and a woman's alleged infidelity.

In this part of our world perpetrators who abuse their female partners/ wives typically feel that they are exercising a right, maintaining good order in the family, and punishing their partner's delinquency, especially the partner's failure to keep their proper place. They talk about their right to discipline the woman.

Key Informant 4. Many perpetrators report that their partners are very disrespectful, very stubborn, the female partner does not take care of the home and that they are lazy. You know these just some excuses to abuse their partners.

Key Informant 5. For instance, these two couples in the office now, one victim reported that the partner beats her every day because she is pregnant for their second baby which the perpetrator demands that she aborts the baby. Her refusal to abort the pregnancy has resulted in daily beating and kicking of her abdomen. She fears for her life and her unborn child so that is why she has come to report the partner to the Unit. The second victim reported that her partner has stolen her money and abuses her in public. One perpetrator here talks about the fact that his partner does not respect him, she does not do any work at all so he told her not to be pregnant which she did not listen and she got pregnant thus the abuse against the female partner.

According to the officers, some perpetrators complain about their partners' alleged infidelity, their failure to take care of the home. The explanations given implied that the female victim was to blame for the abuse. When perpetrators attribute the cause of abuse to the victims, the abuse is more likely to be trivialised and seen as understandable or deserved, hence as less unjust and more admissible. These attitudes of perpetrators serve to excuse and absolve them of violence and create in the mind of the public that female victims are justifiably the victims of intimate partner violence. The officers indicated that perpetrators believe they have the right to discipline their female partners. This attitude of perpetrators explains the reason why violence against women is entrenched in wider gender inequality.

5.10.3. Theme 3: Possibilities and complexities of curbing gender abuse

Officers cautioned against the inability of female victims to carry through with charges pressed against their perpetrators. The interview conducted with officers revealed most female victims drop charges against their perpetrators making it difficult to prosecute perpetrators

Excerpt in line with the theme:

Key Informant 1. for instance, in cases where it involves physical assault or murder, the perpetrator is immediately arrested and detained and charges are brought against him in the law court. In situations where the case is a minor abuse or the perpetrator is a first-time offender, and depending on the preference of the couple involved will determine the mode of settlement. There is the Alternative Dissolution Resolution (ADR) office in the law courts which settles family issues so aggrieved parties are encouraged to use that service. Victims usually drop charges against their male partners with the excuse that the perpetrator is the father of their children and he is the sole breadwinner of the home. Victims drop charges against the perpetrator mainly because of fear of the man divorcing her or even abusing her the more.

Key Informant 2. The Unit first and foremost looks out for the interest of the victim, or survivor to protect and provide support where necessary. We take reports from victims and follow up with an investigation of the offence and the perpetrator is invited to the Unit for interrogation. Upon interrogation, if found culpable, the Unit will prosecute the case depending on the nature of the case, the couple may be asked to see the Unit's psychologist, may be directed to the ADR in the law court for settlement or may be sent to the law courts at the discretion of the judge.

It will interest you to know that most victims come and drop all charges against the perpetrator pleading that they do not want the case to go to the courts or their partners prosecuted or imprisoned. When victims withdraw charges against their partner it empowers the perpetrator to continue with the abuse and some perpetrators go ahead and murder the victim.

Key Informant 3. When victims report cases of spousal abuse they are provided with medical forms by the Unit to take to the public hospitals for medical examination, this is to get medical evidence for DOVVSU and the judges to ascertain the abuse or believe the victim. We then invite the perpetrator for questioning and if he is found culpable, the rule of law is applied. Sanctions include one-day to life imprisonment, caution, fines, compensation, and probation (as prescribed by the 1960 criminal Procedure Code, Act 30 294: 1992 Criminal Code). Homicide cases are given a life sentence, physical assault with battery attracts a fine or jail term at the discretion of the judge. First-time offenders are cautioned. The Unit intervenes in domestic abuse, it provides support and protection to the victim in terms of shelter to keep the victims away from the perpetrator.

Key Informant 4. We need to provide intensive education to the public, talk about the repercussion of this violence against women, and change our cultural norms that perpetuate violence against women. Also, women need to empower themselves economically and know their rights as individuals.

It is evident from the responses that DOVVSU is the first formal port of call for assistance when female victims are abused by their male partners. Participants in the study indicate that although female victims come to report cases of abuse, victims drop charges against their male perpetrators and prefer to resolve the issue informally within the family or personally with the perpetrator.

For example, KI 9 said, "*many female victims come up with all kinds of excuses demanding that the perpetrator be released. They then come back and drop all the charges against*

the perpetrator. You can see that the victim is being pressured by the family into withdrawing the case from the courts."

Key Informant 2 also added, " normally, female victims come and plead on behalf of the perpetrator to be set free for fear of being victimized again or punished. As you may know, some of the female victims are not financially self-reliant, so they depend on their male partners for their daily living".

It can be inferred from the above excerpt that rather than female victims allowing their male perpetrators to be prosecuted and subvert the family structure, they would prefer to drop charges against their perpetrators and remain in the abusive relationship. This attitude of victims explains some of the negative cultural norms that influence victims to drop charges against their male perpetrators. For example, some norms prescribe that family matters are private (Bowman, 2003) and, therefore, inappropriate for anyone to intrude in family matters that do not concern him/her (Adegoke & Oladeji, 2008). Unfortunately, many female victims fail to realise that allowing the prosecution can assist in getting the perpetrator to stop the violence. Looking at some of the reasons given, it can be seen that dependency on the perpetrator, where the man is the sole breadwinner or provider comes through as one of the reasons women opt to stay in abusive relationships. Additionally, having children with the perpetrator and possible feelings of guilt for taking the father away from his children form part of the narratives given by women when dropping the charges. These reasons speak to the broader societal challenges that perpetuate gender inequality and therefore create a breeding ground for women abuse. The fact that the women reported cases of abuse in the first place should be taken as a sign of plea and a cry for help so that all the necessary support service should be provided to enable victims to access legal relief and some restorative justice.

5.11. Summary of findings

From the findings of the present study, three relevant patterns were identified as framing violence against women in Ghana; (a) perception of inequality between sexes, (b) bride price as men's perceived basis to control women supported by patriarchal beliefs about ownership and entitlement and privilege, and (c) not holding the perpetrator accountable. Although these patterns are explanatory factors in the data, there are other relevant factors such as psychological vulnerabilities rooted in individual male childhood experience/witness of abuse and perpetrators' use/misuse of a substance, which contributes to male perpetrators abusing

their female partners. Findings also showed that survivors take their stand through breaking their silence in reporting abuses against them, but regrettably drop charges due to negative social norms that promote violence against women. Additional findings showed that victim-blaming and fault finding explain the perpetuation of violence against women.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the results of the current study. This chapter sought to explore the lived experiences of incarcerated male perpetrators of domestic violence and government officials' perceptions and what can be done about. The phenomenon of violence against women is globally acknowledged across many societies and countries, including Ghana. Many studies, both internationally and nationally have been conducted to determine how this social ill can be brought to its barest minimum or be eradicated. Some studies focused on victims and behaviour of victims (Dunn, 2005; Kim & Gray, 2008). Other global and national studies looked at male perpetrators of violence against women (Devaney, 2014; Romaro-Martinez et al., 2013). The current study adds to the body of knowledge on male perpetrators of violence against women, and it focuses on Ghanaian convicted male perpetrators and their motivations. A focus on male perpetrators is important as they have for many a time gone unexamined. Examining male perpetrators of violence against women is crucial in the reduction and prevention of violence against women in Ghana. Policy formation and laws will be targeted at social norms and practices that inform male perpetrators to abuse their female partners.

Patriarchy and social learning theories were drawn upon to make sense of male perpetration of violence against women. I adopted a qualitative approach to explore the lived experiences of respondents in the study. My interest was in understanding the motivation and reasons leading to male perpetrators abusing their female partners. As can be seen from the preceding chapter, the results revealed that men's violence against women demonstrates the influence of patriarchal family ideology which is embedded in traditional gender norms. These traditional gender norms support the enactment of violent masculinity that play a role in the unequal power relations between men and women. There are a multiplicity and dynamism of masculinity in the Ghanaian society. According to Miescher (2005), multiple masculinities among the Akan in the late 19th century included the warrior ideal, adult masculinity (signified by marriage), senior masculinity (found in the figure of the elder (*Opinyin*), and the status of a big man (*obirempon*).

Participants demonstrated adult masculinities by how they perceived women as perpetual children who never grow up, and therefore must be beaten, and controlled, and exercised whatever means they felt necessary to achieve this domination. Also, by their belief in the perception of inequality in the sexes, their sense of entitlement of their partners and wives, and their feeling of justification in subordinating their partners and wives. They believe they have unconditional power and control over the bodies and sexual life of their female partners because they believe that it is the responsibility of the female partner to keep her male partner/husband happy sexually and failure to do that can provoke violence against her. The finding is in line with recent evidence by Luthada and Netshandama (2019); they argue that hegemonic masculinity forms are used as a shaper for men's dominant behaviours, cultural beliefs, social norms and values that influence gender-based violence or violence against women. A woman/female partner is expected to obey a man's commands and the husband was allowed, even advised to punish her for certain wrongs in the form of beating and abusing her (Nukunya, 2016). It can be argued these are beliefs of the Ghanaian man that stem from traditions and social norms which promote male dominance and female subordination to men, their belief in the perception of inequality in the sexes, their sense of entitlement of their partners and wives and their feeling of justification in subordinating their partners and wives are evidence of the enactment of adult masculinities.

Adinkrah (2012) also explains that

The cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity in contemporary Ghanaian society include a belief in the fundamental biological distinctions between male and female human nature as well as corresponding behavioural prescriptions (p. 475).

Men are expected, for example, to be hardworking and women to be nurturing, and any deviation from these expectations may create disharmony in the home.

6.2 Normalisation of gender-based violence

As found in the current study, the perception of gender inequality influences violence against women. The study finding is consistent with previous literature regarding violence against women. Jewkes (2002) believes that gender inequitable societies are more likely to normalise violence against women. Similarly, Jewkes et al. (2002), assert that the general level of tolerance of violence against women in a community is a strong predictor of the rates of IPV

in that community. We live in a society where there is a broad social acceptance of violence as a way to resolve conflict.

Narratives of respondents indicate that growing up in a patriarchal society has led some men to believe that they are superior to women in all spheres of life. This belief is worth noting because it indicates that the society in which they live may subscribe to patriarchal codes of ideology which inform their belief systems. It can be inferred that respondents adhered to patriarchal codes of masculinity, where control over their partners was permissible and justifiable. It could be argued that male perpetrators' subscription to patriarchal ideology is one of the motivations of violence against women in Ghana. According to Brownridge (2002), the feminist theory argues that a stronger patriarchal attitude in society is linked with higher levels of prevalence of male violence against women. Many societies in Ghana subscribe to several patriarchal ideologies. Adinkrah (2012) notes that “men occupy a dominant social status in the most social domain and there is a general cultural expectation that women acquiesce to men” (p. 475). These cultural expectations influence violence against women. Angela (2002) asserts that the socio-economic forces and the belief in the innate superiority of males are factors that reinforce the unequal power relations in intimate relationships.

The findings suggest that patriarchy and subordination of women are accepted as part of traditional norms and biology and as reflecting the accepted order of relationships. According to Connell (2005), society constructs hegemonic masculinity as an idealised way of being a man, demonstrated by strength, rationality, power over those who are considered inferior, including women and nonhegemonic men. Similarly, Hearn (1998, p. 37) proposes that “violence is a resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man”. The findings further demonstrate that there is a sense of self-justification in men beating their female partners because men perceive it as their right to discipline their female partners when they go contrary to their expected roles. This is consistent with Connell’s (2005) assertion that male perpetrators feel justified when they perpetrate violence against their female partners, and they gain a sense of exercising their rights. It can be argued that this sense of feeling justified may be attributable to entrenched cultural norms that support violence against women.

It is interesting to note from the current study how respondents perceive their female partners as children and therefore feel they have the right to ‘discipline’ them. When men compare their

female partners to children it demonstrates a lack of respect and empathy towards their partners which could lead to abuse. The finding indicates that the male perpetrators carry a belief that they have the right to dominate their female partners by first equating the position of wives to children, then exercise control over them. It may be argued that this belief is in line with the pre-colonial Asante notions of masculinity which revolves around men's capacity to exercise authority over women and young men and accumulate wealth and exhibit courage and bravery in the face of adversity or war (Obeng, 2003).

Male violence constitutes a cultural practice through which men assert and maintain control over women thereby reinforcing their identity as men (Ofei-Aboagye, 1994). The Ghanaian society is patriarchal, and a woman's place within this scheme is decidedly subordinate. As found in this study, the narratives of male perpetrators indicate how society has constructed different roles for men and women in social relationships, including marriage. A man's responsibility is to be the breadwinner, whereas the woman's responsibility is to be a homemaker. It can be explained that when people hold on to rigid gender roles, it can result in violence against women. Female partners are expected to obey their male partners, act according to their wishes, and not fight for equal decision making. In the Ghanaian society, women are expected to be submissive, obedient and serviceable to the male partners or husbands. If a woman veers from these expected roles, she is seen as challenging the man's authority and this may warrant abuse or violence against the female partner as some of the respondents explained in the current study. It may be argued that violence against female partners is an integral part of dominant masculinity.

Connell (2005) asserts that violence against women takes place within the context of privileged groups (men) who use violence to maintain control over women. It can be explained that the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity is a risk factor of violence against women in Ghana. Drawing extensively on these practices, Appiah and Cusack (1999) argued that violence against women can manifest in many forms and contexts, that is sexual, physical, emotional psychological, pseudo-religious, and socio-cultural. Cultural norms and practices influence the thoughts and actions of individuals and shape their behaviour. As we grow, we witness and learn certain beliefs and traditions that are shared and influenced by others, for example, cultural traditions and norms that promote male dominance over women and children can shape our behaviour of violence. Considerable evidence suggests that, although norms can protect

against violence, they can also support and encourage the use of it (WHO, 2009). For example, cultural acceptance of violence, either as a normal method of resolving conflict or as a usual part of rearing a child, is a risk factor for all forms of interpersonal violence (WHO, 2009).

The ascribed authority of men by society may have reinforced their attitude toward the controlling of their female partners, leading to violence against women. Narratives from respondents undoubtedly describe how female victims fail to report abuse to authorities or the police. In other words, female victims 'accept' their victimisation. The findings reflect a similar observation made elsewhere in the US (Flood & Pease, 2009) that gender and culture intersect in very complicated ways, and women's acceptance of violence also shape men's attitude toward violence against women. A plausible explanation for the acceptance of violence by some female victims could be that, when abused women attempt to report the abuse to the police, the police downplay their complaints, or they do not respond appropriately. Another explanation for the acceptance of violence by a female partner could be as a result of families or communities insisting on the importance of sustaining the family union at all costs.

6.3. When tradition tramples on women and children's rights

Findings revealed that the bride price is a contributing factor to violence against women in Ghana. The finding is in line with previous research by Rudwick & Posel (2015); they note that the custom of the bridewealth or bride price is understood as symbolizing a man's masculinity and a man's role as an economic provider. They further indicate that men link the ability to afford ilobolo (bride wealth in the Zulu society) to their masculinity. Similarly, Matembe (2004), observes that the custom of bride price influences violence in intimate relationships, particularly in Africa. Scholars have argued with empirical support that the motivations, processes, and outcomes of the bride price custom are gendered and reinforce male dominance and female subordination in marriage (Kaye et al., 2005). A related finding by Kim (2012) suggests that the uneven distribution of power deeply rooted in the traditional African marriages is depicted in the acceptance of male promiscuity, the power of the extended family over the married couple and the universal institution of bride-price as the bases of the widespread abuse of wives.

Nineteen male perpetrators in the current study expressed their views that the payment of the bride price gives them the right of ownership and sexual entitlement to their partners or wives' bodies. These beliefs influence respondents' acts of violence against their partners. The Ghanaian society deems the payment of the bride price as an important social practice and is perceived by society and the family as a valuable aspect of life. Therefore, there is the expectation that women/brides should indirectly have the moral obligation to make sure that they succeed in the marriage to bring honor to themselves and a good social image to their families as well. Society expects a female partner to remain in her marriage at all cost; this expectation appears to motivate male partners to exercise and maintain socially assumed masculine identity in the community, also for accomplishing desired masculinity and femininity, legitimizing husbands' exercise of matrimonial authority over their wives, and objectifying and commoditizing women in marriage (Baffour Adjei & Mpiani, 2018). Adjei (2018) argues that a sense of entitlement by male partners could subsequently reinforce the belief that spousal violence is morally justified and appropriate. Furthermore, findings of the study support other research, Gadzekpo (1999), asserts that men's control over women is driven by men's belief that women are possession and men are entitled to demand sex from them whether the women want it or not. Consequently, it leads to violence against women.

Childhood exposure to violence is a major risk factor for violence against women in relationships. According to Fikree et al. (2005) and Roberts et al. (2011), experiencing or witnessing abuse is one of the high-risk factors that drive IPV. The current study indicates some evidence that perpetrators had exposure to violence in their early childhood. Most respondents explained that growing up as a child in an abusive home they experienced and witnessed abuse by their fathers against their mothers. Furthermore, respondents reported that they also experienced abuse on the streets and in the schools where they were beaten by their teachers. The above is in line with White and Widom's (2003) work which indicates that there is a link between early childhood victimisation and later perpetration of violence against partners for both men and women. It can be inferred from the narratives of respondents that violence is used as a tool for conflict resolution and is pervasive in the Ghanaian society. Violence is used in the home as a discipline, at school as punishment and on the street as part of the sport, therefore children learn from what they witness and experience and translate the behaviour into their adult life. This process of social learning is in line with Bandura's (1977) theory. According to Bandura (1977), people cognitively record the behaviour of others and, boys then, sometimes adopt this behaviour themselves. Behaviour is first learned by imitation

or modelling and then sustained by social contingency, that is consequences of such behaviour (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Therefore, learn to become violent and abusive to the girls and women in their life. This is in line with previous reports (e.g., Roberts et al., 2011) which indicate that men who witness intimate partner violence in childhood increase the risk of later perpetration for men by an estimated 56% to 63%, depending on the severity of abuse. The results of the findings indicate that participants did not have the skills to communicate and therefore thought that the use of violence is the best way of solving a problem (Herzberger, 2002; Rode, 2010b; Smith et al., 2005;). The experience of violence in the family of origin may be a risk factor for the occurrence of violence in the procreative family.

6.4 Abusing substances and blaming the victim

Substance abuse is one of several important factors that increase the risk of intimate partner violence among perpetrators, and intimate partner violence also increases the risk of substance abuse among the abused (Bennett & Bland, 2008). There is an association between alcohol use and violence against women (Foran, O’Leary, 2008). Evidence abounds that alcohol use is associated with increased occurrence and severity of violence against women (Abramsky et al., 2011; Abrahams et al., 2006; Barker et al., 2011, 2013; Copenhaver et al., 2000; Heise, 2011). The mis(use) of alcohol as a risk factor of violence against women is debatable, because there could be other compounding factors such as low-socioeconomic status or an individual personality trait that could account for the cause of the violence against female partners. Additionally, much consumption of alcohol can create tension and stress in a relationship which could increase the risk of violence. Nonetheless, alcohol use directly affects cognitive and physical function, reducing self-control and leaving individuals less capable of negotiating a non-violent resolution to conflicts within relationships (Gil-Gonzalez & Vives-Cases, 2006).

Findings from this study provide insight into the role of alcohol as a potential risk factor for perpetuating violence against female partners. It is well established that heavy drinking can cause cognitive impairment that continues for several months after drinking stops (Sullivan et al, 2002). Alcohol consumption is perceived to reduce inhibitions, cloud one's judgment and impair the ability to interpret social cues. Because of this, some men use alcohol in a premeditated manner to enable them to abuse their partners with the excuse that they were under the influence of alcohol (Smith et al., 2005; Herzberger, 2002). They do this so that they are not held accountable for their behaviour. This attitude is called “hiring a lawyer” in the

local Ghanaian parlance. Substance abuse by one partner, be it a male or female, can result in financial woes, childcare problems, and tension in the relationship or marriage leading to stress and tension-filled relationship or marriage which consequently increases the risk of conflict and violence. Many families are separated, and homes are broken as a result of consistent conflict between spouses or parents, which are often linked to parents' addiction to substance abuse. Evidence abounds that connections between violence and drinking and drunkenness are socially learned (Dubea et al., 2002).

Furthermore, the data revealed that certain triggering events contribute to violence against women such as suspicion of wifely or partner infidelity, women's acts of disobedience, disrespect, and their failure to perform household chores as demanded by their husband or male partner. In Ghana, women are expected to perform house chores, take care of the children and their husbands or partners. Therefore, anything short of this expectation triggers the husbands' fury and he takes the opportunity to control, punish or discipline the wife or partner. In addition to the above, the findings also point to the challenge of victim blaming. Some of the respondents blame their female partners for the violence. Victim blaming is pervasive; it means blaming someone to whom something was done rather than the person who did it. It implies that male perpetrators do not take responsibility for their acts of violence against their partners. This demonstrates how perpetrators use power and control over their victims and abuse them. Evidence abounds that victim-blaming attitudes can make perpetrators feel justified in abusing their female partners and makes them less fearful of the social cost of their actions which leads to the perpetuation of violence against their female partners (Waltermaurer, 2005).

6.5 Taking action to curb gender violence

The current study's findings point to the fact that female victims are taking a stand-by reporting violence against them by their male perpetrators. The finding is consistent with previous work by Birdsey and Snowball (2013) that victims of an act of violence supporting their claims may be more likely to report to the police because they have a greater awareness of legal options for dealing with domestic violence. This implies that some women know and appreciate the laws about their rights as humans and as women, will rise and make their voices heard so that policies can be targeted at the reduction and prevention of violence against women.

The current study reveals that both victims and perpetrators of abuse accuse each other when they are interrogated. This finding is consistent with the previous studies by Dutton (1986) and Lila et al., (2008) contend that victim-blaming by perpetrators demonstrates power and control. It equally means that the victim deserves the abuse they suffer. Oftentimes when female survivors are blamed for violence against them, the violence may be trivialised and perceived as justified and admissible. This kind of attitude leads to the perpetuation of violence against women. In addition, family interference can also play a role. Family members may insist that disagreements be settled in the confines of the home. This may lead to survivors dropping charges or not reporting at all. According to Bowman (2003), some norms prescribe that family matters are private, for example a male partner abusing or hitting his female partner. Therefore, it is inappropriate for anyone to intrude in family matters that do not concern him or her. The weakness in the societal response to violence against women leads to the perpetuation of the violence.

6.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter aims to synthesize and interpret the key findings of the present study. It provides a summary of the key findings that gives a broad view of factors that motivate male perpetrators to abuse their female partners in an intimate relationship.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, POLICY RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Violence against women continues to be a challenge faced by many societies in the world, including Ghana. While many programs have been put in place to empower female survivors of abuse and assist with their protection and tools of how to survive, limited attention has been given to those who mostly perpetrate such violence against women, namely, men. This study sought to explore the reasons that lead to male partners perpetrating violence against their female partners. To research this, three research questions were constructed: Firstly, what are the reasons/beliefs contributing to male perpetration of violence against women? Secondly, what possible strategies could be adopted to reduce or curb violence against women? Thirdly, what challenges do perpetrators encounter when they attempt to seek support that can assist to change their behaviour? The theorizing of gendered violence with a specific focus on perpetrators of gender-based violence still requires attention within a discipline like psychology.

7.2 Educational implications

Both respondents and stakeholders agreed on the fact that education is key in reducing levels of violence or eradicating violence against women completely. The school can be an environment where attitudes and norms about the acceptance of violence, alcohol and drug use are formed. Therefore, teachers must be trained to educate students on all forms of conflict resolution skills, effective prevention strategies and positive discipline methods must be mandatory for all teachers and school administrators.

Schools should teach school children prosocial skills and behaviour management in the curriculum. Also, teachers could teach school children with alternative ways by modelling constructive, non-violent behaviour and encourage empathy and peaceful conflict resolution skills through techniques such as: problem-solving, emotion regulation (including anger management), social skills training, classroom rules and communication safety measures. Also, they should teach boys to question their views of gender and masculinity, so they can develop a more positive attitude towards girls and women (Poudyal, 2000). Preventing violence in the broader society can directly benefit the main objective of schools to educate children,

foster high-quality lifelong learning, and empower learners to be responsible global citizens. There should be after-school workshops targeted at students on issues of skills building in communication and conflict resolution programmes.

Key informants and male perpetrators of the study suggest possible ways to curb the violence against women. Respondents agreed on the fact that there should be educational programmes for male perpetrators and the public on issues of violence against women and potential risk causes of violence. The education given should re-orient potential male perpetrators on gender roles towards equality between the sexes. They should be educated to learn that biological differences are not a reason to think one (male) gender as being above the other (female). The education should be tailored to both attitudinal and behavioural change in the lives of male perpetrators, safe and healthy relationship skills; male perpetrators should be engaged in a change to personal and relational accountability, and they should be taught how to behave in a more socially appropriate and responsible manner. Key stakeholders such as the DOVSUU, policymakers, leaders within the community, and parents, should raise awareness of child rights, challenge beliefs and attitudes that influence violence against women and provide alternatives to violence by educating and equipping both men and boys and society with skills in resolving conflicts.

Policy intervention should target men and boys in transforming gender norms. Flood (2011) suggests that men and boys should be involved in multiple capacities such as participants in education programmes, as policymakers and gatekeepers and an activist and advocate to stop the violence against women. Community-based education could focus on changing social norms around masculinity, power, gender and violence by increasing an individual's knowledge and awareness and their changing attitudes towards gender norms and violence (Flood, 2011). Also, there are patriarchal rules which govern most of the world's religious organisations therefore Faith-based organisations should be involved in educating their members on issues of prosocial behaviour, conflict resolution and anger management programmes to stop the violence against women.

According to Fergus and Van't Rood (2013), education has a positive impact on reducing violence against women, with higher levels of education, especially, secondary education and above tending to correlate with lower levels of both victimisation and perpetration in later life.

Equally, female victims should be empowered through education to help 'level the playing field' which will reduce the unequal power relationship between women and men that has been identified as the key contributor to violence against women.

7.3 Challenging patriarchy

Evidence abounds that men's attitudes and beliefs related to women's rights and gender equality demonstrate wider structural inequalities and this is related to men's use of violence. Therefore, there is the need to create awareness to reform the cultural norms that promote structural inequalities which lead to violence against women. The findings of this present study suggest that violence against women is a reflection of women's subordination and inequality in the private and public spheres. Therefore, patriarchal values, cultural norms and practices that define women as inferior to men must be challenged, reframed and changed. There should be a real change in the situation of patriarchal domination. The factors found to be linked with violence against women, largely demonstrate influential narratives of masculinity that support and encourage aggression, strength, domination, and a propensity for violence and men's control over women.

As found in the present study, the primary factors contributing to women's subordination is the negative influences of cultural norms and patriarchy in the private and public spheres. Patriarchy ideology assigns different roles and responsibilities to women and men which creates inequality between the sexes. In other words, work is differentiated based on gender awareness creation should therefore be started from the family where the family can play a significant role by adopting a different approach in reconstructing the ongoing socialisation. There should be a shift in the consciousness of violence against women to a shift in treating women equally by changing and shifting men's idea about cultural norms and societal practices that are deeply embedded in a disciplinary culture that promotes violence against women. However, this cannot be easily done, it will take a long time.

7.4 Implications and contributions of the study

Theoretically, this study explains why male perpetrators perpetrate violence against their female partners. Patriarchy appears to be the primary cause of violence against women. The

negative impact of patriarchy, cultural norms, religion and childhood exposure to violence appear to inform violence perpetuated by men against women.

The findings could have significant policy implications for preventing, planning and implementation of possible intervention strategies or programmes. Therefore, stakeholders should put intervention structures in place that can address or help the perpetrators of violence to reform. For example, the services of Psychologists are needed to assist perpetrators develop skills to make changes in their thinking, attitudes and behaviour. Also, Psychologists should work with perpetrators to develop plans to decrease their risk of causing violence or harm to other people. It is critical to ensure that intervention strategies include a multi-sectoral involvement to ensure that diverse voices and skills are included. Policymakers must pay attention to structural systems of patriarchal norms that promote violence against women and the role of substance abuse or alcohol consumption that influence violence. Families must address settings through which intergenerational transmission of violence is facilitated by children witnessing and experiencing violence. The narratives about violence against women must change; violence against women is men's issue as much as it is women's. The present study further demonstrates the need to rethink the meaning given to the bride price. As the study highlighted, some of the cultural norms and values or beliefs may unintentionally contribute towards gender-based violence because of misunderstandings or beliefs that people have. The process of socialisation within an African context and how some cultural practices thoroughly interrogated need to be engaged with. The government could adopt a policy that mandates that all schools' curriculum should have subject courses on conflict resolution skills, prosocial behaviour and anger management to prevent early occurrence of violence in the lives of children. Because violence against women is a global social issue, both victims and perpetrators, stakeholders, the community and the international bodies should prioritize this global canker by promoting intensive educational programmes.

It can be argued that these risk factors which explain male perpetrators of violence against women are rooted in the general structural challenges that promote violence against women. By educating society about social norms that promote gender equality, and holding male perpetrators accountable through criminal justice sanctions for their acts of violence, may help to curb violence against women.

7.5 Recommendation for Future Research

With regards to the third objective, most of the participants made recommendations towards possible strategies to be adopted to reduce or curb the rate of violence against women. Two main themes that emerge from the interview include education and accountability. Evidence abounds that educating society on the consequences of entrenched social norms that promote gendered power imbalances and notions of masculinity can help prevent male perpetration of violence against women, and holding male perpetrators accountable for their acts of violence against women may help curb the violence (Devaney, 2014).

Future researchers may consider expanding the scope of the study by including other prison houses in the country since this present study was conducted in only one region in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Other interesting results may be found in these rural settings owing to the diversity of cultural norms and values they practice. Future Research should consider a modification of the research design. A mixed-method design can be adapted to obtain a broad perspective in the area of male perpetration of violence against female partners so that findings from each method may complement the other in gaining an in-depth understanding of the subject matter.

7.6 The Role of the Judicial system

Generally, traditions, beliefs, norms and practices that work within a community can make it easy for perpetrators to get away from the law with their violence against women. Therefore, in circumstances such as this, the Legal system can use the authority of the community to enforce laws and other rules of behaviour that can protect female victims from violence and punish perpetrators. The legal system could work with the community by educating them on attitudes that create acceptance for violence against women, crimes, such as domestic violence, and gender-motivated killings of women and empower communities to prevent them. The legal system should create the awareness of hidden forms of violence against women, such as forced marriages and challenge attitudes which condone this practice through media activities, training events and community engagement. The members of the community should be encouraged to stop gender-based violence and support the development of community referral systems to end the cycle of the perpetuation of violence against women. Also, the communities should work closely with the court systems and assist

in providing relevant information and ensuring that judges have an in-depth understanding of the cultures and norms of communities whose cases they preside over.

Generally, judges are the final authority in civil and criminal cases involving gender-based violence and they hold the power to sanction perpetrators, protect female victims and send warnings to the society, the victim and the perpetrator that violence against women is not allowed. Hence, the need to provide training for Judges to equip them with all the necessary tools and information they need to better handle cases of violence against women and to ensure perpetrator's accountability and to dispel any misconception they hold. Training for judges could include information on women's human rights, gender-based violence, defining characteristics, risk factors and consequences of gender-based violence, cultural norms that perpetuate violence against women (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, UNODC, 2019)

Previous studies indicate that judges' individual beliefs about gender-based violence have a great impact on case outcomes (Craig-Taylor, 2008). Therefore, judges should be trained to understand how culture, stereotypes and ingrained misconceptions may help the court to shape appropriate access and response that promote safety, accountability and the fair administration of justice (Warrier, 2008). Also, the training should include the needs of victims, victim experiences in court, and the impact of judicial demeanor on victims and perpetrators. In the case where gender-based violence legislation has been enacted; judges should be educated about such laws. Judges should work with civil society and communities to ensure effective civilian and independent oversight of the court system.

7.7 Limitations of the Study

The current study is a qualitative research therefore; findings cannot be generalizable because of the small sample size. Although, I painstakingly addressed any shortcomings of the study, some challenges were out of my control. For example, audio recordings were not allowed in both the prison establishment and the offices of DOVSUU. Therefore, all the interviews were handwritten, which made the whole process cumbersome and tiring. The study entails movement from one institution to another, travelling to different districts in the Greater Accra Region to obtain clearance to do interviews, which impacted strongly on my finances since the

there was no funding for the current study. Furthermore, some participants refused to participate in the study after they were briefed on objectives of the study and they had given their consent to participate.

7.8 Conclusion

Findings of this study suggest violence against women is embedded in patriarchal masculinity practices. Society gives men 'permission' to control and dominate their female partners or wives through the untroubled and often uncritiqued cultural norms and socialisation practices followed by many societies. Other factors that are the shoot of patriarchy are the perceived inequality between the sexes, the bride price, childhood exposure to violence at home and male perpetrators not held accountable for their acts. To be able to prevent the violence against women effectively, we need intervention strategies that are targeted at a broad range of factors including daycare, pay equity, social resources and law reforms. Also, intervention programs must be based on cognitive-behavioural strategies to prevent children from exposure to negative role models. Early identification, monitoring and intervention with young boys who are at risk of becoming abusive can stop violent behaviour and positively influence the development of masculine identities nonconductive to violent behaviour (Salisbury & Jackson 1995).

To make any meaningful progress and have effective strategic intervention towards the reduction of this prevalent and impactful form of violence, we need to recognize the clear and consistent statistics for IPV being both examined and addressed as a gender-based problem. Men should be included in every preventive and intervention programme so that they can appreciate and contribute to the efforts of the elimination of this social problem. Society must discourage rigid gender roles from our cultural norms and egalitarian ideology in our social and cultural norms. Finally, we need to collectively acknowledge and name the problem so that we can eliminate it from society.

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Appendix A

COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

Sample Submission Letter to CSIR-IRB

Akweley Ohui Otoo
P.O.BOX 4090
Accra, Ghana.

February 17, 2017

The Chairperson
Institutional Review Board
Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
Head Office, Opposite Chinese Embassy

Dear Chairperson

Application for Ethical Approval

Project title: Domestic Violence: Why Do Men Do it, And What Can be Done About it?

I wish to submit to you the above-named protocol and essential documents for approval by your committee.

I look forward to receiving any comments that you may have to the above.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,



Akweley Ohui Otoo
(Principal Investigator's Name & Signature)

Enclosed:

1. Initial Submission Form A
2. CVs of PIs and Co-PIs
3. The protocol including number and version, (if applicable)
4. Protocol Amendments including number and version or date, (if applicable)
5. Investigator's Brochure including number and version, (if applicable)
6. Patient Information and Informed Consent Form – English version, including version or date, (if applicable)
7. Advertisement-English and local language (date, if applicable)
8. Insurance Policy (if applicable)
9. Others (Name)

Appendix B

Ref. No: PERC-16077



Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants

The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa has evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA and the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics.

Student Name: Akweley Ohui Otoo

Student no.: 58558179

Supervisor: Prof. Puleng Segalo
Unisa

Affiliation: Research and Graduate Studies,

Title of project:

Domestic Violence: Why Do Men Do It And What Can Be Done About It?

The application was approved by the departmental Ethics Committee on the understanding that –

- All formal procedures that need to be followed to gain access to the participants and to obtain information for research, as required by the relevant Prisons Authorities, must be adhered to, and that the relevant authorities will be informed of the scope of the research;
- All ethical conditions related to voluntary participation, informed consent, anonymity, the confidentiality of the information and the right to withdraw from the research must be explained to participants in a way that will be clearly

understood and a signed letter of informed consent should be obtained from each of the participants in the study;

- All interviews must be conducted individually and no individual identifying information should be released;
- Permission must be obtained from participants if any audio or visual recording is done and any tapes and transcripts must be secured to ensure anonymity;
- Official records will not be consulted or used for research purposes without the explicit consent of the participants involved.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in brown ink, appearing to read 'P Kruger', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Date: 16 November 2016

Prof P Kruger

[For the Ethics Committee]

[Department of Psychology, UNISA]

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

- 1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*
- 2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Psychology Department Ethics Review Committee.*
- 3) *An amended application should be submitted if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*
- 4) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Please note that research where participants are drawn from Unisa staff, students or databases requires permission from the Senate Research and Innovation Committee (SENRIC) before the research commences.

APPENDIX C



COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

HEAD OFFICE

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

P. O. BOX M. 32

TEL: 233-30-2777651-4 (4 Lines)

ACCRA

FAX: 233-30-2777655

GHANA

E-MAIL: headoffice@csir.org.gh

WEST – AFRICA

WEBSITE: www.csir.org.gh

Date:

MAY, 2017

CSIR/IRB/AL/VOLI

Our Ref.

RPN 003/CSIR-IRB/2017

On 26th April 2017, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) Institutional Review Board (ORB), at a full Board meeting reviewed and approved your protocol,

TITLE OF PROTOCOL „Domestic Violence: Why Do Men Do It, And What Can Be Done About It?

STUDENT
INVESTIGATOR „ Akweley Ohui Otoo

SUPERVISOR „ Prof. Puleng Segalo

Please note that a final review report must be submitted to the Board at the completion of the study. Your research records may be audited at any time during or after the implementation.

Any modification of this research project must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to implementation.

Please report all serious adverse events related to this study to CSIR-IRB within seven days verbally and fourteen days in writing.

This certificate is valid till 26th April 2018.



Okyere Boateng

(CSIR-IRB, Chairman)

Cc: Dr. Victor K. Agyeman

(Director General, CSIR)